



HISTORY OF SOUTH AFRICA
FROM 1795 TO 1872

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FROM 1795 TO 1872

GEORGE M^cCALL THEAL, LITT.D., LL.D.

WITH FIFTEEN MAPS AND CHARTS
IN FIVE VOLUMES

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HISTORY OF SOUTH AFRICA

FROM 1795 TO 1872

CHAPTER LXIII

SIR GEORGE GREY, GOVERNOR AND HIGH COMMISSIONER, 4TH OF JULY 1860 TO 15TH OF AUGUST 1861.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL ROBERT HENRY WYNYARD, LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR, ACTING ADMINISTRATOR, 15TH OF AUGUST 1861 TO 15TH OF JANUARY 1862.

THOUGH the second term of Sir George Grey's government of the Cape Colony was very short, covering only thirteen months, it was marked by some events of importance. It could not have been otherwise when a man of his commanding ability was at the head of affairs. Under the present system of government less depends upon the personal qualifications of the governor than upon those of the prime minister, but under the system in operation from 1854 to 1872 the governor was the controller of the administration and the initiator of public measures of every kind. He was the brain, the highest officials were merely the hands. Most men, upon receiving such a stunning blow as had been dealt to Sir George Grey by the annulling of his magnificent plans for the unification, peace, and prosperity of the country, would have become nerveless and apathetic; but his was a nature that could rise unharmed by the shock. Foiled in one direction, he could turn to another, and still strive earnestly and vigorously for the welfare of the community over which he was placed and of the great realm of which his immediate charge was but a tiny part.

It was at his suggestion that Prince Alfred, second son of her Majesty the queen, paid his first visit to South Africa. This was an event in which every one, white and black, took a keen interest, it being the first occasion on which a member of the royal family was seen in this part of the British dominions. The prince, then a midshipman in the steam frigate *Euryalus*, arrived in Simon's Bay on the 24th of July 1860, and in the afternoon of the next day reached Capetown, where every possible demonstration of welcome was made by the inhabitants as well as by the officials and the troops in the garrison.

A short visit to Stellenbosch, the Paarl, and Drakenstein followed, with which the prince expressed himself greatly pleased, though at that season of the year, when the trees and vines are leafless, those localities are not seen at their best. The hearty reception which was accorded to the royal visitor was sufficient to show, if such proof had been wanting, that the Dutch speaking colonists were as thoroughly loyal to her Majesty the queen as any people not of English descent could possibly be.

After this short tour in the oldest part of the colony the prince proceeded by sea to Port Elizabeth, and then, accompanied by Sir George Grey and a suitable retinue, commenced a journey overland which ended at Port Natal. The route followed was eastward through Grahamstown, Fort Beaufort, and Alice, to King-Williamstown. Along this line there is in many places very grand scenery, and everywhere something of interest can be observed. It passes through the heart of the territory that for three quarters of a century had been the battle ground of the white immigrants moving up from the west and the black immigrants moving down from the east, where no trace of the aboriginal inhabitants was left except their paintings on the rocks and their stone implements scattered about as they were lost or thrown away on the veld. Every hill and valley and little plain on that line, though then quiet and peaceful looking, had its story of battle or slaughter in the not very distant past.

The prince, who was fond of hunting, had several opportunities of shooting antelopes on the way. The nights were somewhat cold, but the days were mild and cloudless. August is the pleasantest month for travelling in that part of South Africa, being usually almost rainless, and always free from excessive heat.

From King-Williamstown the party turned to the north, but still continued through a country of ever varying and often grand scenery, where many warlike exploits could be recounted as having taken place. Windvogelberg was passed, the residence of the last Bushman who lived in the territory for a great distance around, and from whom the mountain has its name. Then Queenstown was reached and left behind, and keeping onward the party arrived at Bushman's Hoek, where the road wound up the face of the wall that bounds the interior plain. A steep road it was to climb, but from the top the view stretching over a vast expanse of country to the south amply repaid the travellers.

They were now on the great plain drained by the Orange river and its branches, and for many days the scenery was dull and devoid of interest. They passed through Burghersdorp, and kept on till Aliwal North was reached, nothing of note occurring on the way. Here Moshesh with a large party of Basuto met the travellers, and the old chief testified his joy in approved Bantu manner by dancing or capering about in the road before the prince. He met with a reception that pleased him exceedingly, as indeed did many other Bantu chiefs during the long journey. It was highly desirable that they and their followers, whether subjects of her Majesty or independent, should be gratified as much as possible, and for Prince Alfred it was no effort to make himself affable to all. On the way between Fort Beaufort and Burghersdorp he had visited the missionary institutions at Healdtown, Lovedale, and Lesseyton, and expressed a warm interest in the efforts being made for the advancement of the coloured people.

At Aliwal North the party crossed the Orange river and entered the Free State. It did not seem to Prince Alfred or

to Sir George Grey, however, that they were in a foreign country, for the people they met and by whom they were warmly welcomed differed in no respect whatever from those living in the British colony they had left behind. There were many English speakers among them too, who took care to remind their visitors that they had been abandoned by Great Britain very much against their own will. The party passed through Smithfield, and went on to Bloemfontein, the seat of government.

A grand hunt had been arranged to take place at Hartebeest Hoek, a farm belonging to Mr. Andrew Bain, about five miles or eight kilometres from Bloemfontein. At that time, although vast numbers of all kinds of wild animals native to the country had been destroyed for the sake of their flesh or their skins, or in mere wantonness, an immense number still remained. Moroko's Barolong had been engaged for some days in driving game, and by the time the prince arrived it was estimated that from twenty to thirty thousand large animals — white tailed gnus, Burchell's zebras, hartebeests, blesboks, bonteboks, springboks, ostriches, &c. — had been collected together in a small area. No European prince had ever seen such a number and variety of wild animals in one spot before, and no one will ever have such a sight in South Africa again, for they have nearly all been shot down years ago or have died of imported diseases. The day of the grand hunt was the most exciting one in the journey, although much game had been previously seen and shot.

From Bloemfontein the journey was continued northward to Winburg, where President Pretorius, who was returning from a visit to the Transvaal, met the party and had an interview with the prince and Sir George Grey. The course here turned to the east, and lay through Harrismith to Van Reenen's pass in the Drakensberg, where the great plain was left behind, and the party was once more in the midst of wild and grand mountain scenery.

The travellers now entered the colony of Natal, but were still at a great height above the level of the sea. They passed

down through the village of Colenso, and went on to Maritzburg, visiting the falls of the Umgeni on the way. Then the route lay through Pinetown to Durban, where the long land journey ended. At every place of the slightest importance along this extensive line there were enthusiastic assemblages of people, gaily decorated arches, illuminations, bonfires, and festivities, while escorts of volunteers attended from town to town.

At Durban the *Euryalus* was waiting, and on board were the Gaika chief Sandile, the reverend Tiyo Soga, and Mr. Charles Brownlee, who had been invited to accompany the prince to Capetown and had been taken in on her passage up the coast. It was supposed that Sandile would be impressed with a sense of awe on seeing the working of a ship of war, but he did not give himself the trouble to think at all about the matter, and took no more interest in the ship and her engines than a little child would have done. He understood, however, the cause of the marks of respect paid by everyone to the prince, and realised from what he saw that somewhere over the water there was a real living sovereign of great power, which he had previously believed to be somewhat mythical.

Having proceeded to Simon's Bay, the prince landed again, and on the 17th of September tilted the first load of stones in the great breakwater in Table Bay. On the following day he laid the foundation stone of the Sailors' Home in Capetown,—which was opened for use on the 25th of April 1862,—and inaugurated the South African public library in its fine new building beside the main avenue of the gardens. This was Prince Alfred's last public act during his first and most memorable visit, and on the 19th of September he embarked in the *Euryalus* and sailed for England.

The people of Port Frances had been anxious that the queen's son should inaugurate the construction of a new sea wall at that place, and they also wished to give his name to the mouth of the river, with a view of bringing the harbour into greater prominence. Through pressure of time

the prince was unable to comply with their desires, but he deputed Captain Tarleton, of the *Euryalus*, to represent him in driving the first pile of the new pier. This was done on the 20th of August 1860, when Port Frances was renamed Port Alfred, a designation by which it has ever since been known.

Before 1861 the weights and measures generally used in the colony were those introduced by the Dutch East India Company, though many of the English settlers bought and sold according to those of Great Britain. This double system often caused much confusion in accounts. In the same village, for instance, one shopkeeper would sell calico by the ell of twenty-seven Rhyndland inches, and another by the yard of thirty-six English inches, the inch itself being slightly shorter in the latter case. It was evident that uniformity would be advantageous, and it was equally so that the same weights and measures should be used in the Cape Colony as in every other part of the queen's dominions. The decimal system, which is now coming into favour on account of its simplicity and the necessity of employing it in dealing with foreigners, had then no advocates, as oversea commerce was almost confined to Great Britain. It was therefore enacted that English weights and measures should alone be legal after the 1st of January 1861, and since that date they have been exclusively used, with the single exception of the land measure. To have changed that in the oldest settled districts would have introduced much confusion, and hence the morgen was retained in those parts of the colony.

The land measure, however, was not perfectly uniform in all the grants that had been made since 1657. There was no standard in the colony in the early days by which to rectify a surveyor's chain, and the other instruments employed were far from being as delicate as those now in use. Land was of so little value in those times, even in Capetown, that an absolutely accurate survey was not considered indispensable, and the work was performed in the crudest manner and in

the shortest possible time. The unit of measurement was supposed to be the Rhyndland foot, but resurveys during recent years have shown that in general the measure actually employed was a little longer. Thus the oldest diagrams seldom agree with the extent of ground mentioned in the title deeds. Undisputed possession for thirty years, however, fixed the boundaries permanently, so that disputes and lawsuits were avoided.

The session of parliament which was opened by the governor on the 26th of April 1861 was a memorable one. The desire of a large majority of the English speaking colonists in the eastern districts for the establishment of a separate and distinct government had not abated, and at this time the question was the most prominent one in the politics of the country. An association termed the separation league was formed, with branches in all the important towns and villages of the east, meetings were held wherever people could be got together, and addresses were delivered by the leading English politicians in favour of the measure. The principal newspapers also lent their powerful aid, and pamphlets were published and widely distributed. By these means about six thousand signatures to petitions for separation were obtained, and the documents were laid before both houses of parliament. In opposition, petitions representing not more than one thousand individuals were presented, but none were sent in on either side from the western districts.

A bill was drafted to provide for the separation of the eastern province and its establishment as a distinct colony from the west, and on the 16th of May Mr. William Matthew Harries moved, and Mr. Richard Joseph Painter seconded, its first reading in the house of assembly, which took place accordingly. On the 27th of the same month practically the same measure was brought forward in the legislative council by Messrs. Henry Tucker and Charles Pote.

On the 7th of June the second reading was proposed and seconded in the house of assembly, when an animated debate

commenced, which was continued during prolonged sittings on that day, the 8th, 10th, and 11th, during which excitement was high not only in parliament, but everywhere in the community. On one side the question was felt to be the existence of a single strong colony or the substitution of two weak ones, each burdened with the cost of a complete government; on the other the freedom of the eastern section from the injustice in the distribution of public favours and the restraints imposed upon it by the west. The debate was by far the most important event of the session.

The arguments used by the advocates of the measure were to the effect that the eastern districts were making much more rapid strides in material prosperity than the western, but that their interests received much less consideration from parliament. Their public works were neglected, their rivers were unbridged, and their roads were well-nigh impassable, while in the west they were all attended to, and even a great breakwater was being constructed in Table Bay which might prove useless. The public debt was then £564,000, of which £400,000 had been borrowed for improvements in the west and only £164,000 for similar purposes in the east, though they had to pay half of the interest. Even in the matter of compensation for losses by Kaffir raiders they could get nothing; but a western man with claims less strong was awarded payment for damages sustained. The old argument as to the necessity of a strong government near the frontier to deal with the Xosas and Tembus had lost much of its force since 1857, but it was not altogether forgotten, and an endeavour was made to show that those tribes were rapidly recovering their former strength and might soon become formidable again. And finally the great distance from Capetown at which the members for the eastern districts lived prevented them from attending parliament throughout long sessions as the western members could easily do, so that they were often in a helpless minority when measures of the greatest importance to them were brought forward and disposed of.

On the other side, most of these assertions were disputed, and the excess of expenditure in the west was asserted to be caused by the principal officials being necessarily stationed at the seat of government. In the matter of public works, roads, and bridges, it was unreasonable to compare newly settled districts with others long inhabited, and it was claimed that the east was rather favoured than neglected in this matter. In other respects, if separation were to take place and Grahamstown or Uitenhage were to become the seat of government of the eastern province, the people of some of the districts in that province would have much greater reason to be discontented than the advocates of the measure were then.

At the close of the debate on the fourth day the bill was rejected by a majority of seven votes, those in favour of it being Messrs. Aspelng, Botman, R. M. Bowker, T. H. Bowker, Brand, Cawood, Clough, Darnell, Franklin, Harries, Painter, Scanlen, Slater, Stanton, and Stretch; and those opposed to it Messrs. Blake, Bosman, Van der Byl, Duckitt, Fairbairn, Haupt, Hopley, Kotzé, Louw, Manuel, Munnik, Prince, Proctor, Silberbauer, Solomon, Le Sueur, Theunissen, Walter, F. Watermeyer, P. Watermeyer, White, and Ziervogel.

In the legislative council the measure met with the same fate.

Foiled in this, the same eastern members then endeavoured to carry a measure in favour of the removal of the seat of government, but met with no better success. In this question the members of the party were divided among themselves, some favouring Uitenhage, others Grahamstown, as the capital. It has often been observed that the Dutch speaking colonists can unite readily in the preliminary stages of a great movement, but that when an important measure reaches its last stage, they are certain to quarrel and range themselves on different sides. The observation is correct, as the history of the colony has constantly shown. But this feature of character is not peculiar to them, for here were the English speaking colonists of the east, practically all of whom were desirous of removal of the seat of government, so influenced

by local jealousy that they were ranged on different sides upon the most important point in the whole question.

Finally, more in the way of pretending that they did not accept their defeat as final than in expectation of meeting with success, three members of the legislative council and thirteen of the house of assembly addressed a petition to the queen, praying that her Majesty would separate the provinces as had been done in two instances in Australia. This, of course, as coming from such a small minority in parliament, also proved a failure.

During this session, which lasted from the 26th of April to the 13th of August, one hundred and ten days, various public works were provided for. The board of commissioners for Table Bay was empowered to commence the construction of a dock, according to a plan furnished by the eminent marine engineer Sir John Coode. This was almost as necessary as the breakwater itself to facilitate the loading and unloading of ships, and ensure their safety. It was enormously expensive, as it had to be excavated in rock along the shore to a depth of seventy English feet, or 21·34 metres, a large portion of the sides had then to be faced with blocks of granite, and an opening to the bay to be made just within the breakwater. The length of the dock thus excavated was to be eleven hundred feet, or 335·28 metres, and the area of the sheet of water enclosed by its walls was to be ten English acres. The want of good natural harbours has always been a drawback to the prosperity of South Africa, and must always remain so, because the charges on shipping to make good the interest on the cost and maintenance of such an expensive artificial harbour as that of Table Bay must necessarily be very high. But in the condition of the country such a work was urgently needed, and it has since proved of the utmost advantage. Nearly nine years were needed for the construction of the dock, which was opened for use on the 17th of May 1870.

Provision was also made for the construction of a lighthouse on Robben Island. This useful work took over three years to carry out, for it was not until the 1st of January

1865 that the light was exhibited. A lighthouse in Simon's Bay, to replace the old lightship, had already been constructed, and was opened for use on the 16th of September 1861.

The Wynberg Railway Company was incorporated, with a capital of £100,000 in ten thousand shares. Its object was to construct a line of railway to Wynberg from the station at Salt River on the Capetown and Wellington line. The first sod was turned on the 14th of August 1862, and the line was opened for traffic on the 19th of December 1864. It was then leased to the Capetown Railway and Dock Company, that owned the section between Capetown and Salt River, so that its working could be carried on without hindrance or difficulty.

An act was also passed for the construction by the Cape of Good Hope Telegraph Company of a line of electric telegraph from Capetown to Grahamstown. A subsidy of £1,500 a year was to be paid to the Company for fifteen years, for which government messages were to be sent free. The first section of this line that was constructed was between Grahamstown and Port Elizabeth, which was opened for use on the 2nd of January 1862. Two years more were needed to complete the line between Port Elizabeth and Capetown, which was opened on the 8th of January 1864. It was then carried onward from Grahamstown to King-Williamstown, which section was completed and opened for use on the 1st of October 1864. A military line had been constructed between King-Williamstown and East London, which was opened for use in January 1861, so that after October 1864 the eastern border of Kaffraria was in direct communication with Capetown. The length of the entire line was then about seven hundred and fifty miles or twelve hundred kilometres.

A line, chiefly for the use of the naval establishment, had previously been constructed between Capetown and Simons-town, and was completed in April 1860. Along the Wellington railway, as it advanced, telegraph wires were

necessarily extended; but for several years after 1864 the colony was unable to afford any other lines than those mentioned.

An account of the introduction of Angora goats into the colony has already been given, but as it was at this time that the production of mohair first became a really important industry, some further reference to the subject seems requisite. Various farmers acquired some of the progeny of the he-goat belonging to Mr. Hendrik Vos and of those belonging to Mr. Korsten, and by several of them much care was bestowed upon the animals. Still the strain of the common goat was so strong that the hair was shorter and coarser than that of the pure breed, though it was sold for eight pence a pound or 1s. 5½d. a kilogramme, in England, where it attracted considerable attention. Manufacturers there gave assurances of a much higher price for a better article, but for twenty years it was found impossible to procure thoroughbred goats to breed from. When, however, sea voyages were much reduced in length by the use of steamships, there was a better chance of success, as the loss by death on the way to the Cape would be greatly diminished. Mr. Julius Mosenthal, a merchant in Port Elizabeth, then resolved to attempt again to introduce some pure stock.

For this purpose Mr. Adolph Mosenthal proceeded to Asia Minor, where with the assistance of Lord Stratford de Redclyffe he succeeded in obtaining a number of the purest and best of the animals required. These were shipped at a port in the Black sea, and sent by way of the Mediterranean to England, where they were kept some time to recover strength. They were then forwarded to the colony, where thirty of them arrived in the summer of 1856. The choicest of these animals were sold to different farmers at a price of from £80 to £90 each, and after a few seasons the number so increased that the production of mohair of superior quality became one of the established industries of the colony. At a later date other merchants followed the example of Mr.

Mosenthal, notably Messrs. Blaine & Co., of Port Elizabeth, and introduced pure bred animals from Asia Minor, which were shipped at Constantinople, so that the stock was prevented from deteriorating.

While parliament was in session in 1861 intelligence was received from England that Sir George Grey had been appointed again governor of New Zealand, where the presence of a man of the highest ability and tact in dealing with inferior races was urgently needed, owing to the war with the Maories. The members of both houses and the people of South Africa, white and black alike, regarded his presence here as equally necessary, and just at this time an event took place in Zululand which seemed to confirm their opinion.

Ever since the defeat and destruction of Umbulazi and his adherents, Ketshwayo had been the actual ruler of the Zulus, though his father Panda was still the nominal head. The country was in a state of unrest, for many of the tribe were at heart opposed to Ketshwayo, though they were unable to unite and openly resist him. Such a condition of things was a menace to the peace of Natal. In that colony two sons of Panda had taken refuge, who were mere boys, but whose lives would be in danger in their own country, as they were of the faction of Umbulazi. Refugees were continually coming over to them, who reported that the old chief Panda was in favour of a division of the tribe among several of his sons, in preference to the sole rule of Ketshwayo. Sir George Grey, as high commissioner, was in favour of this as a plan of settlement, if it could be done with the full consent of the people and of the old chief, and especially if some agreement could be entered into for the greater security of human life in Zululand.

Lieutenant-Governor Scott, of Natal, however, believed that opposition to Ketshwayo, whether direct or indirect, would be fruitless, and in April 1861 he sent Mr. Theophilus Shepstone to Zululand to acknowledge that chief as his father's heir in the name of the colonial government. In

this way he thought the constant unrest might be brought to an end and the attachment of Ketshwayo be secured.

Mr. Shepstone proceeded on his mission, and found Panda at first indisposed to admit Ketshwayo's claims, but still more indisposed, and indeed physically unfit, to take an active part in any matter. After a little conversation he became weary, and then, to avoid further trouble, promised to agree to whatever Mr. Shepstone should decide upon doing.

Regiments mustering in all from fourteen to fifteen thousand soldiers were then summoned, and on the 16th of May, with great ceremony, in presence of Panda and Mr. Shepstone, heralds proclaimed Ketshwayo the lawful heir of his father, recognised as such by the Natal government. But then something which the Natal government had not anticipated took place. The same heralds presented themselves before Mr. Shepstone, and asked in a tone of demand that the two boys in Natal and the mother of one of them should be surrendered to their legitimate chief. Mr. Shepstone replied that the white man's government could not, and would not, do such a thing, upon which there was much clamour, and some offensive remarks were made, though the envoy was never in any personal danger.

Mr. Shepstone returned to Maritzburg, and it was recognised at once that the plan adopted in hope of securing quietness had been a failure. Then in July came word that Ketshwayo was massing his troops on the border, and a panic among the colonists took place. The wing of the 85th regiment then in garrison, with the few Cape mounted riflemen and artillerymen in the colony, were immediately sent to guard the fords of the Tugela, all the volunteers were called out to assist, the open country was abandoned, and a despatch was sent with all possible haste to the high commissioner urging him to send immediate aid.

Sir George Grey acted with his customary promptitude. The 59th regiment was then under orders to return to England as soon as the second battalion of the 11th should arrive

to relieve it. There were no other troops of the line in the Cape peninsula, but these were embarked in her Majesty's steam frigate *Narcissus*, which happened to be at hand, with so much promptitude that they landed at Durban on the 3rd of August. A naval brigade of three hundred and fifty men was there almost as quickly. The Capetown volunteers mounted guard in the castle and forts until September, when the second battalion of the 11th arrived from England and relieved them of the duty.

Under these circumstances both houses of parliament presented an address to Sir George Grey, urging him to remain until the danger was over or the arrival of his successor, but this he felt himself under the necessity of declining. Then, to the relief of everyone, after a few days came intelligence from Natal that Ketswayo had withdrawn his regiments from the border, declaring that they had only been sent there on a big hunting excursion, and that nothing was more remote from his mind than hostilities with his white neighbours. He had been practising, in fact, an experiment common among the Bantu, of trying how far he could go without actually committing himself. But for the colonists in Natal such an experiment was very annoying, and if they had been sufficiently strong it would certainly have been resented in such a manner as to prevent its repetition.

By October everything was quiet again, and the 59th regiment embarked for England. The naval brigade had already returned to their ships, and the volunteers to their ordinary occupations.

No other governor has ever done so much to promote the education of youth in South Africa as Sir George Grey. The missionary institutions at Lovedale, Healdtown, Lesseyton, and Zonnebloem, though founded and supported by different religious bodies, could never have grown to be as useful as they became if it had not been for his encouragement and liberal assistance. The Grey Institute at Port Elizabeth, founded in accordance with plans drawn up by him, still perpetuates his name. By the act of parliament

No. 6 of 1856 it was placed under the management of a board consisting of the civil commissioner of the division as chairman, the commissioners of the municipality, and an equal number of members elected by subscribers to the funds or persons paying fees of a certain amount. The institute was then liberally endowed with land, which could be sold or leased according to circumstances. It consisted at first of a collegiate school and two preparatory schools.

The Grey College at Bloemfontein, which he planned and really founded, also perpetuates his name. It was then in the capital of a state discarded by Great Britain, but in whose welfare the broad minded governor took the keenest interest. With its people he felt the warmest sympathy, he regretted to the end of his life that they had been thrown away, and he never ceased to hold them in the highest respect. Forty years later, when his physical strength was gone but his mind was still as active as ever, he could say of them: "I have lived among many nations and in many countries, and I may with all truth say this, that I know no people richer in public and in private virtues than the Boers."*

In founding the college at Bloemfontein his object was to show that the British government still took an interest in the welfare of the people by "the establishment of an institution where the opportunity would be presented of enjoying education in all those branches of knowledge by which the youth of the Free State would be qualified for occupying with credit official positions in the state, or for attending European universities with advantage." For this purpose he contributed, in 1856, from the imperial funds at his disposal £3,000 to be invested by trustees appointed by the synod of the Dutch reformed church in the state, the interest to be applied towards the salary of the rector, and £200 towards the cost of putting up a suitable building. The cost of the roof of the building he contributed from his own

* From "An Interview with the Right Hon. Sir George Grey, K.C.B.," in the *Humanitarian* of April 1896.

means. The synod accepted the charge, and chose as the first trustees President Boshof, the reverend Andrew Murray, then minister of Bloemfontein, and Mr. D. Griessel. Additional funds were raised and the college was established, but could make very little progress before 1872, owing to the difficulties in which the republic was involved. Since 1872 it has been one of the leading educational institutions in South Africa, thus fulfilling the design of its founder.

The same feeling led him to encourage the effort that was made by the Dutch reformed church in the colony to establish a seminary for the training of young men for the ministry. For many years this project had been discussed, but it could never before be carried into execution. After the middle of the century young South Africans who were sent to Holland to be educated often returned with rationalistic views, so that the orthodox colonists considered the church to be in danger, and were anxious to have an institution of their own where the evangelical doctrine as condensed in the Heidelberg catechism should be professed and taught. In 1859 their wishes were carried into execution by the establishment of a theological seminary at Stellenbosch, which was opened on the 1st of November of that year, and has been in full working order ever since.

Sir George Grey wished to place British and colonial settlers on the vacant ground between the Cape Colony and Natal, which would have greatly strengthened the European element in South Africa and have been of advantage to the Bantu in the occupied portions. Strife between the various tribes there was constant, and nothing but English sovereignty supported by a strong body of white men close at hand could put an end to it. As long as it lasted no advance towards civilisation could be made by the people. To give to Europeans the ground between the Kei and the Bashee and that on the terrace at the base of the Drakensberg would not be doing a wrong to any one, and would improve the position of a great many. If it was annexed to British Kaffraria, a strong colony would be formed, capable of

supporting its own government without aid from the imperial treasury,* and permanent peace would be secured. Over the three colonies of the Cape, British Kaffraria, and Natal, there might then be a federal government having control in such matters as the system to be applied to the Bantu, the armed forces required for the preservation of order, the postal service, and the customs tariff, but leaving all other questions to the provincial legislatures.

There are few men to-day who will dispute the wisdom of such a measure or the facility with which it could have been carried out at that time. But in England a very large party, including statesmen of the highest intellect and the purest patriotism, were averse to any extension of the British dominions. They feared to incur increased responsibilities, lest the burden upon the taxpayers should become too heavy to be borne. In their opinion it would be far better to develop the existing possessions than to enlarge them. Their views are entitled to respect, though they are not those held since the general scramble for foreign dependencies by the leading nations of Europe has proved that an opportunity neglected is an opportunity lost for ever.

The high commissioner was therefore unable to carry out this plan for the benefit of South Africa. He was permitted to assign a portion of the upper plateau to Adam Kok and his Griquas, as will be related in another chapter, but not an acre to a white man, and responsibility for the protection of those Griquas or the enforcement of order among them by the British government was distinctly ignored.

On the 15th of August 1861 Sir George Grey embarked in her Majesty's steamship *Cossack*, and left South Africa for

* The revenue of British Kaffraria derived from Europeans was already sufficient to meet the expenditure on their account. It was to cover the cost of governing the Bantu that the imperial treasury was obliged to contribute, as is shown in the following return prepared by the lieutenant-governor. Population in 1861: Europeans 6,705, Bantu 74,648. Revenue during the year: contributed by Europeans £19,949 10s. 11d., by blacks £4,758 5s. Expenditure: on account of Europeans £18,623 18s. 4d., on account of blacks £11,352 11s. 9d., on convicts £3,386 8s. 5d. Exports through East London of wool, hides, and grain to the value of £21,540.

New Zealand. Before him many able men had from time to time governed the Cape Colony, but never one who so entirely enjoyed the confidence of every section of the community, white and black. In this respect he stood above even Sir Benjamin D'Urban and Sir Harry Smith, both of whom were opposed by little cliques. He had the power that only the greatest men possess, of reconciling and bringing together bodies of people of conflicting views and interests, and leading them on together in the same path of progress. The old colonists who spoke Dutch regarded him as highly as the new colonists who spoke English, and both were equalled in this respect by the swarthy-skinned colonists who spoke different dialects of a language common to the Bantu race. All recognised his great ability, his interest in their welfare, the wisdom of the plans he had formed for the good of South Africa. And to-day who is there that does not admit that if the imperial government had permitted those plans to be carried out, a vast amount of blood and treasure would have been saved to the mother country as well as to South Africa, and instead of the feeling of distrust that now exists between sections of the colonists there would be perfect harmony and good will?

Sir George Grey was a lover of books, and had spent all the money he could spare during his life in adding to two superb collections which he had inherited. In these were many exceedingly rare volumes, ancient illuminated religious books, and works of permanent interest in many departments of knowledge. To these he had added a great number of unpublished manuscripts, particularly upon subjects connected with Polynesian and Bantu customs and languages. The value in money of the whole was about £30,000.

On the 21st of October 1861 he wrote from Auckland to Judge Watermeyer in Capetown, announcing the presentation of this collection of books and manuscripts to the South African Public Library. Two cases of manuscripts accompanied the letter; the books, which were then in England, would be sent out speedily. Eight trustees were

appointed to receive them, and to carry out the donor's intentions. They were Mr. Justice Watermeyer, the attorney-general Mr. William Porter, the astronomer royal Sir Thomas Maclear, Advocate Johannes de Wet, and Messrs. John Fairbairn, Charles Aiken Fairbridge, W. Tasker Smith, and William Hiddingh.

No presentation of equal value had ever been made to the colony before, the Dessinian collection being inferior in every respect. In January 1862 the books, about five thousand in number, began to arrive. They were placed in a room by themselves, which has since been made fireproof, and when all were received and arranged, on the 23rd of April 1864 this section of the public library was opened for the use of students. The eminent philologist Dr. W. Bleek was appointed first custodian of the collection.

In front of the main entrance of the library building, facing the botanic garden, stands a statue of Sir George Grey, erected by the colonists in grateful remembrance of his splendid gift. The statue was unveiled on the 10th of November 1864.

After the departure of Sir George Grey, Lieutenant-General Wynyard acted as administrator until the 15th of January 1862, when the newly appointed governor and high commissioner, Philip Edmond Wodehouse, Esquire, arrived from England in the mail steamer *Cambrian* and took the oaths of office.

CHAPTER LXIV.

PHILIP EDMOND WODEHOUSE, ESQRE., (AFTER SEPTEMBER 1862
SIR PHILIP WODEHOUSE), GOVERNOR AND HIGH COMMIS-
SIONER, ASSUMED DUTY 15th OF JANUARY 1862,
RETIRED 20th OF MAY 1870.

It would have been difficult for a very able man to fill the place in public estimation that Sir George Grey had occupied, and the new governor had no claim to ability of any other kind than that of a conscientious plodding official. He would have made an admirable head of a department to carry out routine duties, but he was incapable of initiating any new measure of magnitude that would be really useful. He had commenced official life at the early age of seventeen years as a writer in the Ceylon civil service, and had risen to be an assistant judge at Kandy and subsequently to have charge of an extensive district. After more than twenty years service in Ceylon, he was appointed superintendent of British Honduras, and in 1854 was promoted to be governor of British Guiana. There he had succeeded fairly well, because he had no representative institutions to deal with, and he was autocratic by nature as well as by training. He had not the charm of manner of his distinguished predecessor, and was therefore unable to exercise any influence over the Cape parliament or to acquire the affection of the Cape people.

Added to this, at the beginning of his term of office a series of bad seasons caused by severe drought set in, so that agricultural operations failed all over the country, the live stock in many places was greatly reduced by

starvation, and commercial depression followed as a matter of course. At the same time the imperial government reduced its grant in aid of the Kaffrarian revenue and pressed for a contribution from the Cape Colony towards the maintenance of the troops, so that the financial condition of the country was cheerless. Poverty breeds discontent, and discontent leads to fault-finding with the governing powers, so that the measures of Sir Philip Wodehouse underwent sharper criticism than they would have done in prosperous times.

Immigrants from Great Britain were still arriving under the system described in a previous chapter. On the 5th of February 1862 the *Matilda Atheling* arrived in Algoa Bay with two hundred and sixty-nine, on the 10th of March the *John Vanner* brought two hundred and thirty-eight to Capetown, and on the 9th of June the *Adelaide* brought two hundred and sixty to Port Elizabeth. These were the last to come out. In this year £15,000 was voted by parliament to introduce farm labourers, and £6 was offered towards the cost of passage of every artisan, but farm labourers were not to be obtained, and the accounts of the condition of the colony which reached England prevented mechanics from trying their fortunes here. Government aid was then withdrawn, and presently, as the depression in all branches of industry increased, a tide of emigration began to set out. Many hundreds of those who had been brought to South Africa at the public expense, finding that the expectations they had entertained with regard to this country were not likely to be realised, removed to New Zealand and the United States.

The number that had been brought out during the last few years was in reality greater than the colony could absorb, and the same selection that had often before taken place came into operation again. In early days those who were unfit to make a living in the country were sent away by the government, in this case they left of their own accord. In general, the frugal and persevering among them, those

who were capable of turning their attention to a new occupation when the one they had been engaged in failed, those who were willing to undergo some privation for a time in the determination to succeed in the end, remained in the country; those who were unwilling to live in any other way than they had been accustomed to in England, and who were disappointed when they found that money was only to be obtained by industry or mental ability, went elsewhere to look for it.

From Germany and Holland for several years immigrants had been arriving, and these remained in the country. The Germans were all farm labourers, sent out by Messrs. Godeffroy from Hamburg to applicants for their services who entered into formal engagements with Mr. William Berg, of Capetown, to employ them for at least two years at a fixed rate of wages and to pay £12 for the passage of each statute adult upon his or her arrival. Since 1858 about three hundred had been introduced every year, and this number was now reduced to one hundred and twenty. These German immigrants, being thrifty and laborious in a very high degree, managed to improve their circumstances rapidly in the colony, notwithstanding the severe depression. The Hollanders migrated without previous engagements, but they too managed by frugality to better their condition. About one hundred and thirty arrived in 1862 from Amsterdam.

On the 24th of April, when parliament met, the governor in his opening speech declared himself opposed to the separation of the two provinces, to federation, or the removal of the seat of government. He was in favour of holding the sessions alternately in Capetown and Grahams-town, and of annexing British Kaffraria to the Cape Colony. He wished to relieve the chief justice from the duty of presiding in the legislative council, and to permit that house to elect its own president, to increase the number of puisne judges to four, and to establish a court in the eastern districts to consist of two of these judges and to have a

solicitor general attached to it. He was also in favour of stationing an agent with the Basuto chief Moshesh.

The statement with regard to the annexation of British Kaffraria caused much dissatisfaction to the majority of the European residents in that province. They desired to remain a distinct colony, and declared their fear that war with the Xosas and Tembus would be the result of the loss of a local administration. They wished the vacant territory between the Kei and the Bashee to be given out to European farmers and to be added to the province, when the revenue would be sufficient, they believed, to maintain an effective government with a representative council.

Five days after the opening of parliament the governor left Capetown in the steam frigate *Cossack*, and proceeded to East London to make himself acquainted with the condition of affairs in British Kaffraria. After landing he went first to Butterworth, where he learned from the special magistrate Mr. W. B. Chalmers and the officers of the frontier mounted police the state of the vacant territory and the attitude of the Kaffir tribes beyond, after which he rode hastily to King-Williamstown, and on the 5th of May had a conference with the leading men of the province. He informed them that he had been obliged to stop all public works, as the revenue was insufficient to cover the expense, and that in his opinion annexation to the Cape Colony was the most expedient measure that could be adopted, for the imperial government would not continue to make good the deficiency. They urged their objections to annexation, expressed their hope that the imperial government would continue to protect them, and would not be convinced by the arguments that he used. He then assured them that annexation would not be forced upon them against their consent, and with this promise they withdrew satisfied.

The governor proceeded next to Grahamstown, but he was in such haste that his visit was a very short one, and on the 17th of May he embarked at Port Elizabeth in the *Cossack* to return to Capetown. In less than three weeks he made

the journey to Butterworth and back, and acquired, as he believed, a perfect knowledge of affairs on the eastern frontier.

Before the governor left England, the duke of Newcastle, then secretary of state for the colonies, had given him permission to allot the vacant land between the Kei and the Bashee to European settlers, if that could be done without stationing British troops in it for their protection, but any increase of military expenditure was carefully to be avoided. The governor now considered that this condition prevented him from giving out the land while British Kaffraria remained a separate province. It was guarded by the frontier armed and mounted police, who were paid by the Cape Colony, and who he believed would be withdrawn if the territory was annexed to British Kaffraria. It could not be incorporated in the Cape Colony, because British Kaffraria intervened. Perhaps this view was not altogether correct, because the protection of the province beyond the colonial frontier was equivalent to the protection of the colony itself, but the question whether the police would or would not be withdrawn in the event alluded to was never submitted to the Cape parliament, so what would have happened remains doubtful.

On the 30th of May a bill was introduced in the house of assembly by Mr. Rawson W. Rawson, the colonial secretary, which provided for the incorporation of British Kaffraria with the Cape Colony, the increase of the number of members of the legislative council to nine for each province, who were to be elected for five years and were to choose their president, and the addition of ten members to the house of assembly, namely one for each of the western districts Namaqualand, Victoria West, Tulbagh, and Riversdale, and two for each of the districts of Queenstown, King-Williamstown, and the remainder of British Kaffraria. The members were informed that the consent of three parties to the annexation proposed was necessary, namely the imperial government, the Cape parliament, and the people of British Kaffraria. If the Cape

parliament would approve of the measure, the governor anticipated that there would be no difficulty in obtaining the consent of the other two. The bill was so favourable to the eastern province, on account of its giving to it equal representation with the west in both houses of the legislature, that the support of the whole of the eastern members could be relied upon, and if only two or three western members could be induced to vote for it, its passage through the house of assembly would be assured.

The subject therefore became the most important matter before parliament in the session of 1862. On the 26th of June the colonial secretary moved the second reading of the bill, when he based his arguments chiefly upon the disadvantage to the Cape Colony of having a little province on its border independent of its control. On the same line of reasoning any large state would be justified in absorbing a smaller one adjoining it. Mr. Rawson was of course obliged to support a government measure, but it was apparent to every one that he realised the weakness of his arguments, and his speech had no effect whatever upon those who listened to it.

The debate was continued until the 30th, each eastern member speaking in favour of the bill as beneficial to his side of the colony, but ignoring the views of the Kaffrarians, and each western opposing it as a revolutionary measure or as one designed to throw the whole burden of military defence against the Kaffirs upon the colony, by enabling the imperial government to withdraw the troops stationed on the frontier. On the 30th an amendment was moved that the bill be read that day six months, and being put to the vote was carried by nineteen to fourteen, the two provinces being ranged against each other. On the western side were Messrs. Brand, Fairbairn, Haupt, Kotzé, Manuel, Molteno, Munnik, Prince, Proctor, Silberbauer, Solomon, Tancred, Theunissen, Walter, F. Watermeyer, P. Watermeyer, Watson, White, and Ziervogel; and on the eastern side Messrs. Aspelung, R. M. Bowker, T. H. Bowker, Cawood, Clough,

Franklin, Harries, Meyer, Mundy, Scanlen, Slater, Stanton, Stretch, and Upton.

The principal measure proposed by the governor having failed, on the 1st of July the colonial secretary brought before the house of assembly another of hardly less importance. This was the advisability of holding the sessions of parliament alternately in Capetown and in Grahamstown. It was easy for the western members to show that such a scheme would entail great expense, that the absence of the principal officials from their offices for several months would be detrimental to the public service, and that documents which would be constantly required by parliament when sitting in Grahamstown could not be obtained from Capetown without much inconvenience and loss of time. That equality for the east required the change was the substance of the arguments used by the speakers on the other side. On being put to the vote, the measure was lost by seventeen against thirteen for it.

On the 10th of July Mr. Harries brought a motion forward in the house of assembly in favour of the separation of the provinces, but it was defeated by seventeen votes against fifteen. On the 15th a similar motion brought forward by Mr. Tucker in the legislative council was lost by nine votes to six. At this time nearly the whole of the commerce of the republics north of the Orange river, as well as that of the eastern province itself, passed through Port Elizabeth, so that the customs duties received there were much greater than those collected in Capetown. The eastern members regarded these duties as part of the revenue of their province, and argued not only that they were capable of maintaining a government of their own, but that they did not receive in the form of public works nearly as much as they were entitled to.

On finding the measures that he had proposed rejected by parliament, the governor changed his ground. On the 17th of July he wrote to the duke of Newcastle advocating the separation of the two provinces, and the establishing in

each of an administration for local purposes, with a legislature consisting of a single chamber. Under this scheme he recommended the annexation of British Kaffraria to the eastern province. Over the two colonies to be formed he proposed to have a federal government, with a single legislative chamber, to have control over special matters in which uniformity was necessary. He objected to a system of parliamentary or what is usually termed responsible government, and desired that the heads of departments should continue to be appointed in England by the crown and be subject to instructions from the governor only.

To these proposals the secretary of state replied on the 5th of November. He was in favour of the annexation of British Kaffraria to the Cape Colony, but objected to the separation of the provinces and the extinction of the legislative council. He was of opinion that local councils under superintendents appointed by the crown might be advantageously introduced, or in other words that the existing divisional councils might be enlarged and have increased power conferred upon them. Upon the receipt of this dispatch the governor abandoned the advocacy of separation, and thereafter for a short time this subject occupied the minds of the colonists much less than it had previously done.

Parliament was prorogued on the 7th of August. During the session, bills, introduced by the governor, were passed for the construction of railways from Wellington to Worcester, from Port Elizabeth to Grahamstown, and from a point on the Capetown-Wellington line to Malmesbury. The intention was that these lines should be built by companies, with a guarantee by government of interest at the rate of six per cent per annum on the cost, and a sub-guarantee to government by the districts traversed of half the amount to be made good, if any, as in the case of the Capetown and Wellington line.

But as no satisfactory offers were made, and it seemed unlikely that any companies would be formed in England to

undertake the work, the governor decided to do nothing in the matter until parliament should meet again. In 1863 parliament resolved that the governor should be requested to cause surveys to be made, but that nothing more should be done before the next session, and during many subsequent years the financial condition of the colony was such that neither the construction of railways nor any other large public works could be undertaken.

The work on the Capetown and Wellington line was progressing. On the 12th of February 1862 it was opened for use to Eerste River, 33·6 kilometres, on the 3rd of May to Stellenbosch, on the 18th of March 1863 to Paarl, and on the 4th of November 1863 it was completed to Wellington and opened for use, the total length being fifty-eight miles or 92·8 kilometres. The Salt River and Wynberg line, constructed by a local company, was commenced on the 14th of August 1862, and was opened for use on the 19th of December 1864. By it Capetown was connected with its southern suburbs, to a distance of eight miles or nearly thirteen kilometres; and by a horse tramway to Sea Point, also constructed by a local company, and opened for use on the 1st of May 1863, easy communication was had with the seaside suburbs in the opposite direction.

An event of the year 1862 that may be mentioned, though of little interest now, was the loss of the Union Company's coasting steamer *Waldensian*, one of the first of their fleet. She was on her passage from Port Elizabeth to Capetown, with a hundred and twenty-one passengers on board, among whom were several clergymen of the Dutch reformed church on their way to attend the synod, when at eleven o'clock in the night of the 13th of October she struck on a reef at Struys Point, and almost immediately broke up. There was barely time to lower the boats and get the passengers, the mail bags, and the crew to land, but nothing else was saved beyond the clothing—in some instances only the night dresses—that the unfortunate people had on or could hurriedly grasp.

The last scene in a long tragedy, the destruction of the aborigines of the Cape Colony, was at this time brought to a close. The land on each side of the usually dry gully called the Hartebeest river, being the least valuable in the country, had not been coveted by any of the immigrant peoples until the middle of the nineteenth century. Even the Koranas on the banks of the Orange had not wandered into it far from that stream, except occasionally after the fall of rain, when a herd of cattle might be driven a short distance southward for change of pasture. Its extent was some three hundred or three hundred and fifty kilometres from west to east, and from one hundred to two hundred kilometres from north to south, according to the curves of the Orange river. This land of prolonged droughts, where the thermometer often ranges sixty to seventy degrees of Fahrenheit's scale between midday and midnight, is as much entitled to be termed a desert as the Kalahari on the other side of the Orange. Yet after the fall of heavy rains, which may only occur at intervals of years, it presents the appearance of a vast meadow, so luxuriant is then the growth of the grass.

Here until about 1850 the Bushmen were left in undisturbed possession. Then a band of Xosas that had long before wandered away from the banks of the Kei, some strolling Koranas from the upper Orange, a party of freed slaves and other coloured people from the south, and even some Dutch colonists who had been accustomed to rove about with their cattle, finding the land everywhere else occupied or at least claimed, began to encroach on this dreary waste. Which of these intruders arrived first cannot be stated, nor does it make much difference, as all were found there in 1862. Reports having reached the government at Capetown that the aborigines were being mercilessly exterminated by these people, and the territory having been included in the colony since the 17th of December 1847, the governor directed Mr. Louis Anthing, civil commissioner and resident magistrate of Namaqualand, to make a close inquiry into the

matter, and to take any steps that he might find necessary to restore order.

Mr. Anthing left Springbokfontein in February 1862, and after a detour north of the Orange reached the place now called Kenhart, on the Hartebeest river. There he commenced to make investigations and to take evidence, which he continued to do in other parts until he acquired complete information on the subject. His report to the governor is dated 21st of April 1863, and is just the repetition of a story as old as the intrusion of the first Hottentot and Bantu immigrants into South Africa. No one, black, yellow, or white, had regarded the Bushmen as having more right to the territory than the hyenas, they had all shot down what game there was, and when the wild animals, ostrich eggs, honey, and grass seed failed, the Bushmen were obliged either to steal or to starve. Many—the number could not be estimated—had perished of hunger. Others stole the cattle of the newcomers, and murdered people irrespective of sex or age whenever they could. Then they were treated by all as if they were tigers. During the preceding ten or twelve years many hundreds had been killed, though evidence could not be obtained as to the particular individuals who had been engaged in shooting them down. There were then about five hundred left.

An attempt was made to induce those savages to settle down peaceably as graziers, and they were provided by Mr. Anthing at the cost of government with a sufficient number of she-goats and other breeding stock to make a commencement with. But this plan succeeded no better than on former occasions when it had been tried by parties of farmers. The Bushmen showed themselves incapable of taking such a step forward as the adoption of pastoral habits, though several of their race in other districts had for many months at a time served European farmers faithfully as herdsmen. The stock provided for them was soon killed and eaten, and then the plunder of the intruders into their old hunting grounds was the only resource left to them. Some

time afterwards a number of families were sent to a distant part of the colony, where they were induced to take service, but they soon escaped and returned to their old haunts.

To the question: what could be done in such a case? a satisfactory answer cannot be given. No force that the colony could command would be sufficient to keep such an extent of wilderness clear of intruders and to maintain it as a Bushman reserve, even if such a course had been considered expedient. Cattle breeders and Bushmen cannot live together, unless under exceptional circumstances, and those circumstances are wanting when the cattle breeders are Koranas or Bantu. And so the end of the matter was, as in every instance of the kind that had previously occurred, those Bushmen who removed preserved their lives, and those who tried to remain passed out of sight. In this case they had only to cross the Orange river, when the Kalahari was before them, not more of a desert than the territory they were compelled to abandon.

On the 16th of April 1863 parliament was opened. The treasury was empty, and the colonists were ill disposed to bear any increased burdens. But to carry on the administration the governor had been compelled to borrow money, and nothing that could be avoided was being spent on public works, so that either retrenchment in the civil service, taxation in some form, or a loan was unavoidable. Various bills were introduced by the governor for the purpose of increasing the revenue, but some were rejected, and parliament would only consent to raise the transfer dues on fixed property exchanging ownership to four per cent upon the purchase price or the value, and to increase the charges for certain stamps and licenses. Further, to tide over the depression, the governor was authorised to raise a loan of £150,000 at six per cent yearly interest.

During this session Mr. J. C. Molteno endeavoured again to increase the importance and power of parliament by bringing forward a motion in the house of assembly in favour of the introduction of responsible government. The

time seemed opportune, for the last session had proved that under the existing system the administrative and the legislative powers were liable to clash in such a manner that effective government was nearly impossible. In 1860 he had made a similar effort, which was opposed successfully until the country should have an opportunity to express an opinion upon it, and at that time both the colonial secretary and the attorney general had declared themselves in favour of the change. The necessity for it seemed now more urgent than at that time. On the 28th of May therefore he moved a resolution "that in the opinion of this house the time has arrived when the introduction of the principle known as responsible or parliamentary government into the administration of this colony is both expedient and desirable."

On this occasion the debates were long and animated. The eastern members to a man were opposed to the principle, as they feared that under responsible government all real power would be centred in the west. The imperial government would then withdraw the troops, they maintained, and the coloured people, who had votes equally with themselves, would be the prey of agitators seeking place and regarding their party more than their country. Some of the western members were also opposed to it for these reasons, and on the 23rd of June, when a counteracting motion was brought forward by Mr. Harries, and the question came to the vote, Mr. Molteno and those who favoured his views found themselves in a minority of eleven against nineteen. Those who desired responsible government were Messrs. Brand, Fairbairn, Haupt, Molteno, Munnik, Silberbauer, Solomon, Theunissen, F. Watermeyer, P. Watermeyer, and Dr. White; and those who objected to it were Messrs. Blake, R. M. Bowker, T. H. Bowker, Van der Byl, Christie, Clough, Darnell, Franklin, Goldmann, Harries, Kotzé, Louw, Mundy, Prince, Proctor, Slater, Scott, Tancred, and Walter.

Encouraged by his success, on the 14th of July Mr. Harries moved: "that the governor be requested by

respectful address to take measures for summoning the next session of parliament to be held in the eastern province, in virtue of the power vested in him by the sixtieth section of the constitution ordinance." This was carried by fifteen votes to fourteen. On the 27th of July a similar motion was brought forward in the legislative council. There were five eastern members present, who, finding that the motion would be lost, left the chamber before the voting took place. The seven western members present then voted unanimously against it.

On the 28th of July parliament was prorogued, when the governor expressed his regret that his financial proposals had not been accepted in their entirety, and announced his intention to hold the session of the following year in Grahamstown.

In accordance with this intimation, in February 1864 he proceeded to the eastern province to superintend the necessary arrangements and carry out other duties, and did not return to Capetown until November. Some military buildings in Grahamstown that were left vacant by a redistribution of the troops were fitted up for the accommodation of parliament, and everything necessary for holding the session was made ready at the cost of only three or four thousand pounds. As the electric telegraph between Capetown and Grahamstown was opened for use on the 8th of January, it was possible for the governor to remain at such a distance from the heads of the departments, and to conduct the administration without much inconvenience.

A general election took place at this time, the term of the second parliament having expired, and it was found that the place of meeting for the next session was a factor of considerable importance in the choice of new members. Several of the old representatives declined to be put in nomination again, others were rejected, and when the polling was over no fewer than twenty-five new men were declared duly elected to seats in the house of assembly.

On the 28th of April parliament was opened. The governor in his speech stated that the revenue of the last year had fallen short of the expenditure by £191,613, and that further taxation would be necessary. He had suspended many public works early in the year, as there was no money to carry them on. He said much concerning depredations by the Xosas and measures required for their suppression. But of more interest than any other information that he gave was the announcement that he had lately received authority from her Majesty's government to create, on account of the colony of British Kaffraria, a defensive force of irregular cavalry, and he therefore trusted before many months were past to carry out the occupation as a part of British Kaffraria of the vacant country beyond the Kei. He hoped, he added, that by availing himself of the services of the new force he would be able gradually to relieve the detachments of the Cape police then stationed beyond the Kei, and to restore them to their duties within the colony.

All the taxing bills submitted by the governor were passed, as the eastern members were desirous of showing some substantial return for the favour conferred upon them. The customs duties were increased by twenty-five per cent, to take effect from the 29th of April, so that all articles subject to ad valorem rates thereafter paid ten per cent, stamps and licenses were increased, duties on succession to property were imposed, also a duty on bank notes, and the transfer duty act was amended to make it more stringent.

The effect upon the revenue of these taxation measures can be seen in the following table, which shows that the increased transfer duty caused a considerable diminution in the sale of fixed property. The great addition to the customs duties brought the revenue from that source to little more than it was in 1862, owing to the continued depression in trade. In stamps and licenses the increase was more marked. The returns for 1866 and 1867 contain the revenue of British Kaffraria also, which will account for a considerable portion of the increase.

Revenue of the Cape Colony.

	1862	1863	1864	1865	1866	1867
Customs duties ...	£274,539	£243,764	£299,503	£275,559	£285,056	£330,242
Transfer dues ...	57,168	55,723	53,198	47,321	44,851	46,111
Stamps and licenses ...	34,473	37,533	49,976	58,669	58,799	55,219
Land revenue ...	27,996	27,868	27,840	25,841	35,582	50,648
Postage ...	22,794	24,521	23,418	24,922	26,802	28,210
Auction dues ...	20,517	17,925	14,425	15,214	14,744	14,013
Fines and fees ...	15,378	17,900	16,273	16,414	17,402	15,342
Miscellaneous ...	318	2,264	326	325	372	140
Bank notes duty ...	—	—	—	1,365	3,938	3,916
Succession duty ...	—	—	—	1,040	1,102	3,153
	£453,183	£427,498	£484,959	£466,070	£488,648	£546,994
<i>Other receipts.</i>						
Land sales ...	13,266	3,834	9,565	19,233	19,714	20,080
Rents ...	7,927	9,330	9,648	1,697	539	275
Sale of government property	3,227	2,585	966	839	479	2,003
Reimbursements ...	6,370	6,177	4,269	18,749	18,405	21,232
Interest and premiums ...	17,340	15,329	6,214	7,554	3,814	14,885
Special ...	3,389	3,872	3,769	4,303	4,748	4,007
	£504,702	£468,625	£519,390	£519,045	£536,347	£609,476

A court for the eastern districts was created, to consist of two of the judges of the supreme court, who were to reside in Grahamstown and hold sessions there. For this purpose the number of puisne judges was increased to four. In case of the two judges disagreeing, the case was to be referred to the supreme court in Capetown, which consisted of the chief justice and the other two puisne judges. There was also liberty to appeal in civil cases from the eastern districts court to the supreme court. The new court was provided with a registrar, and a solicitor general was also to be appointed in connection with it. At the beginning of the following year, 1865, it was established, when Judge Connor was removed from Natal to Grahamstown, and Advocate Denyssen was appointed acting judge to fill the other seat.

In the house of assembly this session notice was given of an intention to propose a resolution in favour of the removal of the seat of government to Grahamstown, but it was deferred until the western members became apprehensive that it was being purposely delayed until they should leave to return home. A counter motion was then brought forward, and as the eastern members left the house before the voting took place, it was carried unanimously.

In the legislative council the same tactics were resorted to. Towards the close of the session, when most of the western members had left, a motion was brought forward in favour of the incorporation of British Kaffraria in the Cape Colony, and was carried by five eastern votes to two western, there being only seven members present. In the same chamber and by the same majority of five eastern against two western members a resolution was carried in favour of the next session being held in the eastern province.

On the 28th of July parliament was prorogued. The experiment of holding it in a town at a distance of four hundred and sixty-two miles or seven hundred and forty kilometres in a straight line from the principal offices containing records and all other conveniences usually considered indispensable was regarded by Sir Philip Wodehouse as

satisfactory, because he had been enabled by it to carry his measures, but no other governor ever resorted to such a plan, nor did he venture to repeat it.

In February 1864 the Union Company extended its ocean mail service to Port Elizabeth, which did away with the necessity of transshipping the mails and passengers for that port on the arrival of the steamers in Table Bay. Later in the year an arrangement was made with the same company to carry a mail monthly to Mauritius, in return for which a small subsidy was to be paid. Practically this gave the Cape Colony the advantage of two mails each month from England, one by the Atlantic and the other by the Mediterranean and Indian route. By the improvement and enlargement of the steamers the passage down the Atlantic to Table Bay was now often made in less than thirty days.

Another association in England, termed the Diamond Steamship Company, at this time commenced running steamers monthly to Port Elizabeth, East London, and Natal. Its first steamer, the *Eastern Province*, arrived in Algoa Bay from Falmouth on the 26th of May 1864, after a passage of thirty-two days and a few hours. This company was also subsidised for carrying the mails from Falmouth, at the rate of £50 for every day under twenty-seven on a passage and a proportion of the postage on letters and papers conveyed. This gave three mails monthly from England, but not at regular intervals, as the dates of departure of the ships of each line were arranged without reference to the other.

The *Eastern Province*, the first ship of the Diamond Company's fleet, had a short term of service. She was on the passage from Port Elizabeth to Falmouth when, a little before daylight on the 26th of June 1865 she ran ashore on the coast close to the mouth of Ratel River, and became a wreck. All on board got safely to land, but part of the cargo was lost.

This company soon ceased running steamers between England and South Africa, but for several years they kept

one or two vessels in the coasting trade between Table Bay and Natal, calling at all the intermediate ports.

The crops gathered in the early months of 1864 were better than those of the previous year, but agriculture was far from flourishing, and the commercial depression was increasing rather than diminishing. Emigration to New Zealand and to America was going on, but there were many artisans and labourers without the means of paying their passages to other countries and unable to obtain employment. Private benevolence was heavily taxed, and charitable institutions of various kinds were established to prevent actual starvation, but there was the danger of creating a class of paupers by such means. At length the distress became so great that the governor considered it necessary to inaugurate relief works, though without parliamentary sanction for incurring expense on this account. He selected the Tulbagh kloof to commence with. The railway when extended would have to pass either through this kloof or some other in the first range of mountains, and it was generally regarded as the best for the purpose, though to go through it would cause a long bend in the line like the letter U. In September 1864 the work of cutting a road fit for a railway from the Bushman's rock on the western side of the range, along the gorge through which the Little Berg river flows, into the Tulbagh basin was commenced, and soon several hundred white men and as many blacks were engaged on it. There were masses of rock to be cut through, retaining walls to be built, bridges to be constructed, and much other hard work to be done, so that it occupied the labourers thirteen months, and was the means of preventing a great deal of destitution.

On the 5th of October 1864 by the death of Mr. John Fairbairn the colony lost one of its ablest and most prominent men. The mistake he had made with regard to the Xosas in Sir Benjamin D'Urban's time had long been forgotten, for with experience he had seen cause to change his views, though he never ceased to support judicious

measures for the improvement of the coloured people within and beyond the border. His struggle with Lord Charles Somerset for the freedom of the press, his exertions on behalf of education, his resistance to the introduction of convicts and the losses he sustained in consequence of the leading part he took in that event, and his efforts to secure representative institutions for the colony have been recorded in these volumes. Of late years, owing to his advanced age, he was unable to take as active a part in public life as he had done when in full vigour, but to the last he was regarded as one of the most consistent and energetic advocates of responsible government. An estimable man in private life, a good colonist in every sense of the word passed away when he died.

An industry which has since attained large proportions and added considerably to the exports of South Africa had its origin about this time. From the earliest years of colonisation by the Dutch it was known that the ostrich could be tamed, and the female bird was often seen in a domesticated state, though it was only regarded as an odd pet, just as a tame springbok or baboon would be. The male bird was generally avoided, as it was dangerous in the breeding season, when it was apt to attack any person or animal approaching it, and inflict severe wounds by striking forward with its foot, which was armed with a formidable nail. The beautiful plumes obtained from the wings and tail of the ostrich had always been saleable at high prices, but hitherto had only been collected from wild birds. These had been shot down for the purpose, until they had become so scarce as to be nearly extinct in the long settled parts of the colony.

It seems never to have occurred to anyone that it would pay to keep tame ostriches for the sake of their feathers, until the long drought forced men to think about the matter. The favourite home of the bird was the desert, and it was known to thrive where nearly all other large animals would perish. It cannot be stated with certainty who first

made the attempt, but Mr. Von Maltitz, of Graaff Reinet, is generally credited with it. The plan adopted was to take the chicks when only a day or two old from a wild bird's nest, and rear them in enclosed paddocks, until some years later incubators were brought into use. In some parts, where the paddocks were large, no artificial food was needed, but in others it was required. The bird was almost omniverous, so under any circumstances it was easily kept. For many years the profits from this industry were greater than from any other branch of farming in South Africa, but in course of time the number of tame ostriches so increased that the price of plumes went down, and this occupation fell in the matter of returns to the level of other pastoral pursuits.

The imperial government at this time maintained five battalions of infantry, the Cape mounted rifles, some sappers and miners, and a few artillerymen in South Africa.

In March 1863 the second battalion of the 13th left for Mauritius, and in April the second battalion of the 5th arrived from that island to replace it.

In March 1863 the 96th regiment arrived to relieve the 85th, which left in May for England.

In November 1864 the first battalion of the 10th arrived to replace the second battalion of the regiment, which embarked in the same transports and proceeded to India.

In April 1865 the second battalion of the 11th left for China, and was replaced by the 67th, one wing of which arrived from China in April and the other from Mauritius in September.

In April 1865 one wing of the 99th arrived from China, and the remainder of the regiment arrived in September from Mauritius.

In October 1865 the first battalion of the 9th arrived from Europe to replace the 96th, which proceeded in that month and the following to Bombay.

In South Africa, in January 1866 there were the second battalion of the 5th, the first battalion of the 9th, the first

battalion of the 10th, the 67th, and the 99th regiments of the line.

In the session of parliament of 1864 provision was made for taking a census in the colony, which was carried into effect in March 1865. The population was found to consist of

Europeans	-	-	-	-	-	-	181,592
Hottentots	-	-	-	-	-	-	81,598
Bantu	-	-	-	-	-	-	100,536
Half-breeds, Asiatics, descendants of slaves, and other coloured people	-	-	-	-	-	-	132,655
Total number of souls	-	-	-	-	-	-	496,381

They were distributed as follows :

	<i>Western Districts.</i>	<i>Eastern Districts.</i>
Europeans	- 105,348	76,244
Coloured people	- 130,952	183,837

The municipality of Capetown, excluding the suburbs, contained 14,045 males and 14,412 females, 28,457 in all, of whom 15,118, or rather more than half, were of European blood.

Port Elizabeth came next in number of inhabitants. It contained 4,628 males and 4,072 females, 8,700 in all, of whom 6,886, or three-fourths of the whole, were Europeans.

Grahamstown followed, with 2,981 males and 2,968 females, 5,949 in all, of whom 5,265 were Europeans and only 684 were coloured servants.

The Paarl was the fourth municipality in size in the colony. It contained 2,434 males and 2,495 females, 4,929 in all, of whom only 1,978, or two-fifths of the whole, were Europeans.

The eastern districts were considerably in advance of the western in the number of horses, horned cattle, sheep, and goats owned by the inhabitants, as is shown by the following returns :

	<i>Western Districts.</i>	<i>Eastern Districts.</i>
Horses - - -	104,806	121,804
Mules and asses -	18,803	5,476
Horned cattle -	270,199	422,315
Woolled sheep -	2,243,393	6,126,786
Cape sheep - -	1,217,472	248,414
Goats - - -	1,044,508	1,392,936
Pigs - - -	59,897	18,769

On the other hand, agriculture was much more extensively carried on in the west than in the east, with the single exception of the cultivation of maize, which was owing to the Bantu growing that grain extensively for their own consumption. The number of morgen of ground cultivated for each kind of produce was returned as follows:

	<i>Western Districts.</i>	<i>Eastern Districts.</i>
Wheat - - -	72,814	22,744
Barley and rye -	22,305	5,523
Oats - - -	29,308	17,755
Maize - - -	1,895	21,788
Peas and beans -	3,123	1,027
Tobacco - - -	763	171
Garden ground -	3,648	2,421
Orchards - - -	3,335	1,427
Vines - - -	7,149	494

Of the chief article of export, the western districts produced during the preceding year 5,017,196 pounds avoirdupois, or 2,275,749 kilogrammes, of wool, and the eastern districts 13,887,840 pounds, or 6,299,385 kilogrammes.

CHAPTER LXV.

ABANDONMENT OF THE TRANSKEIAN TERRITORIES.

THE hopes that were raised throughout South Africa, and particularly in British Kaffraria, by the governor's speech at the opening of parliament in 1864, that the vacant ground beyond the Kei would at last be allotted to European settlers, and the influence and power of the civilised race in the country be thus increased, were doomed to be disappointed. An opportunity such as can never occur again of pushing forward the border of the white immigrants, without doing the slightest harm to the black immigrants, was unfortunately thrown away. Vacant land such as that east of the Kei, adapted for agricultural and pastoral purposes, is in South Africa like a depression surrounded with pools of water: it must be filled with something or it will be overflowed. It is surprising that the Cape police had been able to keep it open as long as they did.

The tract of land along the base of the Kathlamba mountains had never been occupied except by Bushmen, and that between the Indwe and the Kei on one side and the Bashee on the other had been forfeited by the paramount Xosa chief Kreli in 1858, after his insane attempt to make war upon the Cape Colony by throwing his whole tribe in a famishing condition upon it. In February of that year he and his adherents were driven over the Bashee into Bomvanaland, and the territory was then occupied and constantly patrolled by the Cape frontier armed and mounted police. Only two small Bantu settlements were permitted within it. One of these was the Butterworth mission station, where some Fingos were allowed to live, and the

other was at Idutywa (pron. Ai-dootsh-wäh) near the centre of the former Galeka country, where some people from British Kaffraria had been located by Colonel Gawler in August 1858.

An officer was stationed there with the title of Transkeian special magistrate, who exercised jurisdiction over the people and kept the government informed of what was going on. Colonel Gawler held this appointment until September 1858, when he was succeeded by Lieutenant George Pomeroy Colley. Mr. W. G. B. Shepstone succeeded Lieutenant Colley in May 1860, and Mr. William B. Chalmers succeeded Mr. Shepstone in September 1861. Mr. Chalmers held the appointment from that date until the close of 1864. During these seven years the Idutywa district was regarded as a dependency of the crown colony of British Kaffraria, and the special magistrates were appointed by the government of that province. The Bantu who resided at Idutywa were offshoots of various clans. About half of them were Fingos, there were some Ndlambes under the petty chief Smith Umhala, who was a great-grandson of Rarabe, and even some Galekas.

Early in 1864 Sir Philip Wodehouse visited the Tambookie location west of the Indwe. This was the ground that Sir George Cathcart had allotted to the Emigrant Tembus in 1853, the same that is now known as the district of Glen Grey. It appeared to the governor that it would be advantageous to obtain this ground for Europeans if the Tembus would exchange it for a larger tract beyond the Indwe. He spoke to the chiefs about it in general terms, and as they seemed inclined to regard it favourably, he instructed Mr. J. C. Warner, the government agent in the location, to discuss the matter carefully with them and communicate the result.

On the 8th of April Mr. Warner reported that he had held meetings with the chiefs and leading men, and that they had unanimously consented to remove on condition that the boundaries of the land to be received in exchange should be

“from the source of the Indwe in the Washbank range of mountains down the eastern bank of that river to its junction with the Kei, thence down the latter river to its junction with the Tsomo, thence up the western bank of the Tsomo to the waggon road at the police station, thence along the said waggon road to the Umgwali drift below Clarkebury; the northern boundary to be the Washbank and Kathlamba mountains. That this country should be secured to them, and only be forfeited in case of their making war on the colony. That their independence should be guaranteed to them as far as consistent with humanity and the paramount authority of the queen. That their stipends should be continued to them, that they should enjoy all the privileges they then possessed, and that the Tambookie agent at the time should be appointed British resident with them.”

The chiefs thus asked for a country so many times the size of the location which they were to give in exchange that the governor was not disposed to accept their terms. On the 10th of April he replied to Mr. Warner, offering “all the territory from the source of the Tsomo in the Stormberg down its left bank till nearly opposite the police station, and thence east by the waggon road to the Bashee.” Under this proposal the district between the Indwe and the Tsomo would have been left for European occupation, and the exchange of territory would not have been very detrimental to the colony. The chiefs, however, rejected it, and the negotiations then ceased for several months.

A long and unaccountable delay occurred before the governor made known the conditions under which grants of land in the Transkeian territory would be made, and when at last, on the 1st of June, the requisite notice appeared, the terms were so burdensome that most people believed they were designed purposely to prevent European colonisation. In that notice farms from one thousand to three thousand English acres in extent were offered to approved applicants, on condition of maintaining one white man for every five

hundred acres and the payment of yearly quitrent at the rate of £1 for every hundred acres. The territory was to be annexed to British Kaffraria, and was to be defended by a body of irregular horse paid by the imperial government for five years, after which the expense was to be gradually reduced.

In the best part of South Africa, with a good market close at hand, farming might pay on such terms, but on a distant frontier, where for many years, until towns sprang up, only cattle breeding could be carried on, Sir Philip Wodehouse's conditions were prohibitive. He was soon convinced of this himself, for in August he modified them by reducing the quitrent to fifteen shillings for every hundred acres, and requiring only two adult males in addition to the grantee himself on every farm of three thousand acres, one of whom was to be a European and the other a man approved by the governor. The Europeans were of course to be mounted and armed at their own expense, and to muster regularly for inspection as in British Kaffraria. Under these conditions it was ascertained that there would be no difficulty in filling up the vacant territory, but they were made too late.

For some time past Kreli had gradually been recovering importance. His followers were returning to him from the various districts in which they had been scattered by the terrible famine that followed the destruction of their cattle and grain in 1856, and Bomvanaland was too small to contain them. In February 1861 Sir Walter Currie on behalf of the high commissioner offered him a large tract of land beyond the Umtata, and he expressed himself willing to occupy it, but afterwards declined acceptance on the ground that his removal to it would inevitably lead to war with the Pondos. His real reason was that he hoped then to recover his former territory, and no Bantu chief of the coast will ever move eastward or northward if he can avoid it. He does not say so in words, but he feels, as if instinctively, the pressure of his race towards the setting sun.

In May and June 1864 a panic was created on the frontier, owing to a report that Krelî had resolved to attack the police and attempt to recover the land he had lost. Sir Walter Currie, then commandant of the police, believed the report to be well founded, and gave it as his opinion that European settlers should not move beyond the Kei until the chief and his people were driven over the Umtata to the land offered to them there. Mr. Chalmers, the special magistrate at Idutywa, did not credit the rumour, and thought there was no cause for apprehending a disturbance of the peace, but Sir Walter Currie's opinion had greater weight than his with the governor, and all the troops available were put in readiness to meet an attack. On the 11th of June Sir Philip Wodehouse reported his apprehensions to the secretary of state, and at the same time Sir Percy Douglas, who in November 1863 had succeeded Lieutenant-General Wynyard as commander in chief of the forces in South Africa, wrote that he believed the occupation of the Transkeian territory by Europeans would cause increased military expenditure by Great Britain.

Without further investigation, or ascertaining whether the rumour concerning Krelî's intentions had any foundation in fact, Mr. Cardwell, then secretary of state for the colonies, resolved to abandon the vacant territory. On the 5th of August 1864 he informed the governor that her Majesty's ministers were averse to incurring the risk of additional charges, and that therefore "British dominion must be withdrawn from it, and the Kei be made the extreme boundary." The irregular horse that it had been intended to raise would on this account be unnecessary, and need not be enrolled. This retrograde movement was believed by the vast majority of the European colonists to be more disastrous, and to be a more severe blow to the prosperity of South Africa, than even the abandonment of the Orange River Sovereignty ten years previously.

But Sir Philip Wodehouse did not wait for these instructions. They were not even written when at the beginning

of August he sent Sir Walter Currie to inform Kreli that the government would take him into favour again, give him back part of the territory he had formerly occupied, and grant him an allowance in money of £100 a year as long as he should conduct himself in a friendly manner. Mr. Warner, the Tambookie agent, was directed to make the necessary arrangements, and no time was lost in carrying them out. Kreli of course accepted the offer with many expressions of thanks, and in the months of September and October his people moved over the Bashee into the country thereafter termed Galekaland. This district was the seaboard portion of that which the Galekas occupied before 1857. It extended from the Bashee to the Kei, and from the ocean to a well defined boundary formed partly by flowing water and partly by the great waggon road which runs eastward past Butterworth. At present it forms the districts of Kentani and Willowvale. On the 5th of October Mr. Cardwell wrote to Sir Philip Wodehouse, approving of what he had done in the matter.

It was in very truth necessary that the paramount Xosa chief should have ground allotted to him somewhere, for there was not sufficient space in the Bomvana district for his people to live in, as well as the proper owners, the clan then under the aged and pacific chief Moni. Justice and prudence, to say nothing of generosity, required this, for a half starved and cramped up mass of barbarians is always a menace to its neighbours. But there was plenty of vacant ground beyond the Umtata, and Sir Walter Currie's plan of forcing Kreli and the Galekas to remove to it would have met the difficulty and saved a fine slip of land for occupation by Europeans. That much was now irrecoverably lost.

In September 1864, when it was announced to the colonists that no farms were to be given out beyond the Kei, it was anticipated that different Bantu clans living west of that river could be induced to move over, and leave the ground they were then occupying for the use of white people. Sir Philip Wodehouse therefore renewed his negotia-

tions with the chiefs in the Tambookie location, and offered them now the whole tract of country between the Indwe river and that occupied by the remainder of their tribe who were living in independence under the young chief Gangelizwé. He had a double object in this: the acquisition of the Glen Grey location and the strengthening of the Tembu tribe as a counterpoise to the power of Kreli by bringing the different sections together again. The ground he offered was not only very much larger than that from which he wished them to remove, but was also more fertile and better adapted for their needs.

A lengthy correspondence ensued with Mr. Warner, who conducted the negotiations with the Tembus, and who was at first tolerably confident of being able to carry out the governor's views. Raxoti, Darala, and Gecelo, the three most powerful chiefs in the location, consented to the proposed exchange. For some months Sir Philip Wodehouse and Mr. Richard Southey, who in July 1864 had succeeded Mr. Rawson as colonial secretary, seemed to hope for, if not to anticipate success, their chief fear being that Nonesi would probably evade carrying out the plan in its entirety, by remaining behind herself with a few adherents. There was a strong feeling of jealousy between the old chieftainess and Raxoti, or, as afterwards called, Matanzima, and it seemed likely that if one went the other would not. In this case, in February 1865 the government proposed to assign land in the old location sufficient for their needs to Nonesi and such of her followers as should stay with her.

In the meantime a delay was caused by the request of the chiefs to be allowed time to gather their crops which were then growing. This was conceded as reasonable, but after the harvest there was no general movement. Sections of the people crossed the Indwe, though taking care always that a sufficient number remained behind to prevent the occupation by any one else of the ground they were leaving. The governor was powerless in the matter, as since British dominion had been withdrawn from the vacant territory,

what he was offering in exchange was not really his to dispose of. The Tembus knew this as well as he did, and so force could not be used either to prevent a partial migration, or to drive the whole of them over the river. In June 1865 Mr. Warner announced that the scheme had completely broken down, and the governor could only regret that the announcement was true and remonstrate with the chiefs who remained in the old location.

Mr. C. D. Griffith, then civil commissioner of Queenstown, was directed to communicate to them that they would no longer be recognised as having any authority, that the ordinary colonial laws would be substituted for the Bantu law under which the people had previously been governed, and that the office of Tambookie agent was abolished. He proceeded to the location, and on the 22nd of November 1865 had a meeting with Nonesi, some petty chiefs, and about fifteen hundred men. Mr. Griffith delivered his message, and in the usual way was thanked for what he had communicated. Nonesi replied that she was a child of the government, that she had been invited after the last war by the government itself to live in the location, and could not understand why it was now desired she should remove.

The daughter of Faku and widow of Vusani preferred to remain where she was the person of most consequence, rather than be of little account in presence of Gangelizwe and Matanzima, the sons of Umtirara, who was her child by adoption only. The people were pleased to obtain more land beyond the Indwe, and did not wish to relinquish any on the colonial side. As for English law superseding theirs, the magistrate might talk as much as he chose, but they would keep the customs of their fathers. There are no people on the face of the earth who can offer passive resistance more effectually than the Bantu, and so the Tembus kept the location and their old customs and laws as well, while those who moved from it obtained possession of the whole of the upper portion of Krel's former country, now the districts of Xalanga and St. Mark's.

As for Nonesi, she made herself a nuisance to the colonial authorities, though always calling herself a child of the government. At length her conduct became so bad that it was necessary to remove her. In December 1868 she was put in a waggon, and sent with a police escort to Pondoland, where she was handed over to her brother Ndamasi. But her removal was not followed by the migration of the people, though it made the enforcement of order among them less difficult than before.

There remained a tract about twelve hundred square miles, or three thousand square kilometres, in extent in the centre of the territory. Sir Philip Wodehouse hoped that in exchange for this he might obtain the locations west of the Kei belonging to the Gaika chiefs Sandilé, Anta, and Oba, that is the present district of Cathcart. By his instructions Mr Charles Brownlee, the Gaika commissioner, held a meeting with those chiefs and their people on the 16th of March 1865 to discuss the matter. Mr Brownlee offered the chiefs perfect independence over the Kei, instead of the restraint to which they were subject on the colonial side of the river. They would retain their monthly allowances in money also, so that they would lose nothing at all, and obtain a big country in exchange for a small one. But the chiefs and their people alike turned a deaf ear to all his proposals. Their principal reason for doing so was an objection to move into a district which the head of their tribe still hoped to acquire, and thus deprive him of it; but this was not allowed to appear, and the governor was led to believe that they objected to cross the Kei because "they acknowledged the benefits they had received from living in tranquillity under British rule, and were indisposed to fall back under the uncontrolled authority of their own chiefs."

All hope of obtaining ground for European settlement by means of the removal of Bantu occupiers was now of necessity abandoned, and the governor turned next to the Fingos, from whom nothing was anticipated in exchange.

These people were first introduced to the colony in 1835, when some sixteen thousand of them were brought across the Kei by Sir Benjamin D'Urban and were located in the Peddie district. Afterwards others had been brought over, or had migrated to the colony in families or small parties. They had multiplied in an almost incredible manner, there being no parallel in history of any people increasing so rapidly in number as these Fingos have done since they came into the colony. Their locations in Peddie soon became overcrowded, and swarms from them were then settled in Victoria East, in the beautiful valleys along the Amatola range, in the Queenstown district, and even in the Zitzikama. The same thing went on at each fresh location, so that shortly there was a multitude of Fingos in the border districts, pressing upon the remaining population and clamouring for land.

Sir Philip Wodehouse offered the vacant country to these people, and before the close of the year 1865 nearly forty thousand of them moved into it, without, however, giving up a square metre of land in the colony. Some of them raised an objection at first to their settlement without protection in a district bordering on that occupied by the Galekas, but they were satisfied with a promise that if they conducted themselves properly their enemies would not be permitted to destroy them. Captain Cobbe, previously superintendent of the Healdtown location, was stationed with them, with the title of Fingo agent. The territory thus allotted to the Fingos comprised the present districts of Nqamakwe, Tsomo, and Butterworth.

All the land between the Kei and the Bashee was thus parcelled out among rival Bantu clans, most of whose members had previously been British subjects. The government of the Cape Colony hoped to be able by its influence alone to preserve order among them and prevent an outbreak of war, but such influence had often failed before, and it might do so again. "In thus disposing of this territory," wrote Sir Philip Wodehouse to the secretary of state, "we

entirely relinquish all rights of sovereignty over it, and these tribes will be governed by their own chiefs and their own customs. But in accordance with their own wishes, and for their benefit as well as for our own, each tribe will be guided and aided by a British resident."

This quotation shows the nature of the relationship between the Cape Colony and the Transkeian country for several years. There was a British resident in the person of Mr. J. C. Warner, who was stationed at Idutywa, and who corresponded with the government and acted generally as a diplomatic agent. The only legal authority he possessed was derived from a commission under the imperial act 26 and 27 Victoria, which empowered him to cause the arrest of criminals being British subjects anywhere between the Kei and the border of Natal, and send them to the Cape Colony for trial, but this did not apply to the Bantu residents. Subordinate to him were his son Mr. E. J. Warner, who had the title of Tembu agent and who resided at Southeyville, Captain Cobbe, who was termed Fingo agent, and Mr. William Fynn, son of the former diplomatic agent with the Galekas, who had been for several years clerk to the special magistrate at Idutywa, and was appointed resident with Kreli in July 1865. This arrangement lasted until October 1869, when the office of British resident was abolished, and the various agents, who had previously reported to Mr. Warner, senior, were placed in direct correspondence with the government in Capetown.

The territory into which the emigrant Tembus moved was divided into four great blocks, over each of which there was a recognised chief. One of these was Matanzima, a brother of Gangelizwe, another was Darala, a descendant of Tembu, but a very distant relative of the paramount chief; the third and fourth were Gecelo, son of Tshopo, and Stokwé, son of Undlela, neither of whom was a Tembu by descent. These and several others who were subordinate to them received small yearly allowances from the Cape government according to their rank, Matanzima, the most important of them, being

paid £52 a year after September 1867, when his grant was increased and he was entitled a chief of the first class. They were treated as independent rulers, however. Their people paid no taxes to the colonial treasury, but a few European traders and woodcutters who went into the country paid for licenses to them. They governed their people and collected the *isizi* * and other dues from their subjects in the usual Bantu way.

The Tembu agent was instructed to use his influence in controlling the relationship between the chiefs so as to preserve peace, but he had no other power than to recommend the stoppage of the annual allowances. There were intrigues and jealousies among them, and on one occasion, in 1868, the feud between the old chieftainess Nonesi and Matanzima nearly involved the country in war, but actual hostilities were averted by the prudent management of the agent. The Cape authorities in every instance, when applied to, declined to interfere. Early in 1872, however, the colonial government so far departed from its previous policy as to send a commission to inquire into the disputes as to boundaries and to arbitrate between the contending chiefs. Certain lines were thereupon laid down, and were afterwards respected by all parties.

The main body of the tribe to which these people professed to belong resided between the Bashee and the Umtata, and there was now no break between its farthest eastern outposts and the westernmost kraal in the location at Glen Grey. Apparently it was thus very powerful, but in reality a slight shock would have broken it into fragments. In 1863, Qeya, great son of Umtirara, was circumcised, when he took the name of Gangelizwe, and assumed the government of the Tembu tribe. On this occasion the colonial authorities, as a mark of friendship, presented him with the sum of £50,

* *Isizi* means the fines paid to a chief for murder, assault, and other offences considered criminal, as distinguished from civil, in Bantu law. With some tribes, as for instance the Pondos, it also means an ox paid to the chief when the death of a man is reported by his relatives, to console him for the loss of a subject.

and promised him an allowance of £52 a year. There had long been an ill-feeling between the Tembus and the Xosas, and this was now increased by personal jealousy between Gangelizwe and Sigcawu, great son of Krelî, who had also just come of age. Between the Tembus and the Pondos on the other side there was likewise a feud of long standing, which now and again occasioned war. Under these circumstances, the influence of the late regent Joyi and the old counsellors of Umtirara was in favour of keeping on good terms with the colonial government.

The Tembu tribe, as has been stated before, was not a compact body, inasmuch as many of its clans were of alien blood. The most powerful of Gangelizwe's vassals, indeed,—Dalasilé, head of the Amakwati clans,—was not a Tembu by descent, and was not inclined to admit much more than the precedence of the paramount ruler. He could bring almost as many followers into the field as Gangelizwe could from the kraals under his immediate government.

To strengthen himself therefore, the young chief encouraged other alien clans to settle in his country. He specially favoured a large Fingo clan under the chief Menziwé, who had taken refuge in Tembuland in the time of Umtirara, and he even induced a number of European farmers from the Cape Colony to settle along the western bank of the Umtata so as to form a barrier between him and the Pondos. A similar little European community was also formed at the Slang river on another border of his territory. Each of these farmers paid him rent at the rate of £6 a year, and as some eighty families settled in his country on the terms which he offered, he derived a good income as well as some protection from them. They were of course in every respect self-governing, or rather they lived without a government at all, as they were not subject to Bantu law, and would not brook interference by a Bantu chief. The arrangement was that in return for the use of a farm or cattle run and protection from theft by his people, each man was to pay the paramount Tembu chief £6 a year.

Their lives were always respected, but their property was held on a precarious tenure, and they were frequently subjected to annoyances for which they could obtain no redress. It was a strange and unnatural position for white men to be in.

Gangelizwe was usually an easy-going, mild-mannered man, but he was subject to fits of ungovernable temper, when he was prone to commit the most savage acts. In May 1866 he took as his great wife a daughter of the Xosa chief Kreli. The marriage was brought about by his counsellors for political purposes, and affection had nothing to do with it. The treatment of this woman by her husband when he was enraged was so brutal that in 1870 she fled from him, and returned to her father maimed and covered with wounds. Fearing Kreli's vengeance, as soon as his wife left him the Tembu chief, through Mr. E. J. Warner, applied to the high commissioner for an officer to reside with him, and a few months later repeated the request. Thereupon, in February 1871 Mr. E. B. Chalmers was appointed resident with Gangelizwe, to advise him and to be the medium of communication between him and the colonial government.

Acting by the advice of Mr. Fynn, Kreli had submitted to the governor a complaint of the treatment of his daughter by Gangelizwe, and Messrs. Fynn and Chalmers were instructed to investigate the matter and report upon it. They did so, and in March 1871 the governor pronounced judgment, that Gangelizwe should pay to Kreli forty head of cattle. Kreli accepted the cattle awarded to him, though he considered the punishment altogether too slight. His people, incensed at the outrages inflicted on their chief's daughter, which they regarded as insults to themselves, and smarting under the occupation by the emigrant Tembus of a tract of land that had once been theirs, were intent upon revenge. Plundering commenced, followed by retaliation, and presently the two tribes were at war.

On the 30th of September 1872 Kreli and his son Sigcawu crossed the Bashee at the head of a large army, and invaded

Tembuland. As the Galekas advanced the Tembus fell back until the 6th of October, when a battle was fought in which the Tembus were totally defeated. Gangelizwe with his bodyguard fled to the Wesleyan mission station Clarkebury, where the reverend Mr. Hargreaves was then residing. This gentleman was possessed of rare courage as well as of great influence over the people around him. He met Kreli, whose followers were elated with victory and half mad with excitement, and induced him to abstain from further pursuit.

Gangelizwe now offered to Mr. Chalmers to cede the whole of his country unconditionally to the British government. The resident asked that the offer should be made at a public meeting, and one was called for the purpose. On the 21st of October a number of the sub-chiefs came together, and expressed a strong feeling in favour of the cession. Dalasilé, however, and several others were not present.

A commission, consisting of Lieutenant-Colonel Edmonstone, of the 32nd regiment, Mr. E. A. Judge, civil commissioner and resident magistrate of Queenstown, and Inspector J. Murray Grant, of the frontier armed and mounted police, was sent to the scene of disturbances, and succeeded in inducing Kreli to suspend hostilities. When this was settled, the commission was informed by Gangelizwe, at a meeting which took place on the 30th of November 1872, that his offer of his country and his people to the British government had been made without sufficient consideration and without the consent of some of his principal subordinate chiefs, and that as there was considerable opposition to its being carried out he wished to withdraw it. As afterwards ascertained, it was Dalasilé who overruled the proposal of Gangelizwe to follow the example of Moshesh by placing himself under British protection.

Mr. Charles Brownlee then visited the territory occupied by the Galekas and the Tembus. On the 20th of January 1873 he met Kreli, who had six thousand warriors with him, and persuaded him to send four delegates to Idutywa to meet Gangelizwe's representatives. The Tembu chief gladly sent

the same number of delegates, and Mr. Brownlee was able to induce them to make a formal declaration of peace, so that quietness was restored once more along the colonial border.

The Fingos in their new settlement were not long in discovering that Captain Cobbe, who was stationed with them, was without any authority and could only give advice. The governor informed the resident that "it was essential to the successful working of the Transkeian settlement that the British officers employed there should be perfectly aware that they possessed no authority in the legal sense of the word derived from the British government, inasmuch as her Majesty's government had deliberately determined to relinquish the possession of that country. The authority of the British officers must therefore strictly speaking be derived altogether from the chiefs and people with whom they dwelt, and by whom any directions or advice they might give must be carried into effect. But although it was right that these officers should themselves correctly appreciate their position, it by no means followed that they should bring this circumstance prominently into notice, and thus lower their own influence in dealing with the people. Each of the tribes settled in the Transkei looked with more or less jealousy on the others, and each desired to retain the good-will of the British government. The leading men set a value on the allowances they received. The individuals composing each tribe had become alive to the benefits of an impartial administration, and had probably little desire to come under the uncontrolled power of their chiefs. All these influences would operate to sustain the authority of the British resident, and to enable him to procure the execution of orders given with discretion and with a due regard for the habits and prejudices of the people."

This system gave very little satisfaction. The Fingos, who during their residence in the Cape Colony had made great strides towards civilisation, were now rapidly falling back into the habits of their ancestors. In the wars of Tshaka they had lost most of their chiefs, so that it was much less difficult for

them than for other Bantu to adopt European ideas. They were of various clans, and had no bond of union except the government of the white man, while they were surrounded by enemies always ready to pounce upon and destroy them. Their best men admitted their inability to form a government of their own, and were desirous of some better system than one in which the only means of coercion was the stoppage of a paltry allowance to the head of a kraal or letting loose the people of one village to plunder those of another.

Captain Cobbe was withdrawn in May 1869, and after a short interval during which Mr Charles J. Levey was in charge of the office, Captain Matthew Blyth was appointed Fingo agent. This officer, who was possessed of great ability as an administrator, soon became a real chief over the people, and arrested the downward movement among them. They submitted willingly to the authority which he assumed, and never thought of questioning his decisions. Under his firm, but benevolent, administration, the Fingos entered upon a career of great prosperity, and peace was undisturbed in their territory.

When the office of British resident was abolished, Mr Thomas A. Cumming was stationed at Idutywa with the title of superintendent. The people of that district were refugees of various tribes, without any chief of high rank among them. Those who did not submit to be ruled by the superintendent were therefore in a state of anarchy for several years.

In addition to the territory that was taken from the Xosas in 1858 and allotted to the Galekas in 1864 and to the emigrant Tembus and Fingos in 1865, a large extent of unoccupied land along the base of the Drakensberg or Kathlamba mountains was abandoned by the British government in 1864. It was part of the territory now termed Griqualand East, which is about seven thousand square miles or eighteen thousand square kilometres in extent, its boundaries being the Kathlamba range on the north-west, Tembuland on the south-west, the dividing line being the

head waters of the Umtata river and the watershed between the streams which flow into the Bashee and the Umzimvubu, Pondoland and the county of Alfred in Natal on the south-east, and the colony of Natal on the north-east. No part of the territory is nearer the sea than thirty miles or forty-eight kilometres in a straight line.

The soil of Griqualand East is in general fertile and covered with a rich carpeting of grass. Horses and horned cattle thrive as well as in the most favoured parts of South Africa, and the pasturage along the slopes of the Drakensberg is particularly well adapted for sheep. Wheat grows in perfection, as does nearly every fruit, grain, and vegetable of the warmer part of the temperate zone. The lowest part of the territory, or the side nearest the sea, has an elevation of not less than nine hundred metres above the ocean, and from this depression there is a constant upward incline until the great mountain wall is reached. The most elevated portions of Griqualand East are therefore so cold in winter that no Bantu ever cared to occupy them. Europeans find the climate as pleasant and healthy as any in the world, though, owing probably to the air being damper, chest diseases are more common than on the great plains of the interior. In the summer months, when the prevailing winds are from the ocean and when thunderstorms gather along the mountains, the rainfall is usually considerable; but there are occasional seasons of drought, never, however, equalling in duration those sometimes experienced in districts to the westward.

British ownership of the territory was based nominally on a cession made by the Pondò chief Faku, in reality it rested on the right of a civilised power to enforce order. Faku never had any authority in it, he never would have had a claim to a square metre of its soil if such a claim had not been given to him by Sir Peregrine Maitland in the treaty of 1844. At that time hardly anything was known by the colonial government of the political condition of the Bantu in the valley of the Umzimvubu. Along the lower

course of the river the Pondo tribe was found by travellers and missionaries, and it was assumed that the whole region was under the jurisdiction of Faku, the paramount Pondo chief.

Faku was not slow in perceiving the advantages to be derived from an alliance with the Cape Colony. Tshaka and Dingan were dead, and the terrible Zulu power had been shattered, but he had many enemies still. A powerful friend at a safe distance was most desirable. He therefore accepted without hesitation the proposals made to him by Sir Peregrine Maitland's agents, and affixed his mark to a treaty, in the twelfth clause of which he was acknowledged as paramount chief of the whole region between the Umtata and the Umzimkulu, from the Drakensberg to the sea. In the thirteenth clause the colonial government undertook to secure this territory to him against British subjects, but the rights of all petty chiefs and Bantu tribes residing in any part of it were to remain unaltered. As now known, the population of the country between the Umtata and the Umzimkulu at that time consisted of

(a) The Pondo tribe, occupying the banks of the Umzimvubu for sixty or seventy kilometres upwards from the sea. These Pondos had lived there as long as their traditions of general events went back, which may have been a couple of hundred years, and though Zulu armies had swept off their stock and reduced them to great destitution, they had managed to preserve their lives by retiring into mountain recesses and thickly-wooded ravines till the waves of invasion rolled over. In 1844 Faku was paramount chief of the tribe, but practically governed only the eastern clans, as Ndamasi, his eldest son of the right hand house, ruled the clans on the western side of the river. Umqikela, the eldest son of the great house and consequently the heir to the paramount chieftainship, was still a youth.

(b) The Pondomsi tribe, living eastward of the Umtata, farther inland than the Pondos. This tribe had been

independent as far back as its traditions went, and for many years had occupied the same position as it did in 1844. It was divided into two rival sections, well known in later times as those of the chiefs Umhlonhlo and Umditshwa.

(c) The Bacas under the chief Ncapayi, who was then acting as regent during the minority of his brother. These people were the remnants of a northern tribe which had suffered greatly in the wars of Tshaka, and when driven from their own country had fled to the district they were occupying in 1844. They had of course no hereditary right to the ground there, but their claim to it was as good as could be set up by anyone else.

(d) The Xesibes, the remnant of a tribe that more than a century earlier had migrated from the northern part of the present colony of Natal and settled in a district near that in which they were then living east of the Umzimvubu. Tshaka drove them beyond the Umtata, but after his death they returned. The whole country had been in commotion, and there was hardly a clan in it that had not been displaced. The Xesibes, on recrossing the Umzimvubu, lived for a time a nomadic life, but at length took possession of a tract of land to which the Amanci clan of the Pondos had a claim, and thus a feud was originated between them.

(e) A great number of little groups of refugees with different titles, an enumeration of which would only cause confusion. The Pondos, owing largely to the prestige gained by their alliance with the Cape Colony, have managed since that time to incorporate most of these clans. They were principally offshoots of the great tribe of the Abambo, that once occupied the northern part of Natal.

(f) Various refugee clans occupying the tract of land between the Umtamvuna and Umzimkulu rivers. The district in which these people lived was annexed to the colony of Natal in 1864.

(g) A number of Bushmen roaming over the otherwise uninhabited territory along the base of the Drakensberg or Kathlamba.

Among these various tribes and clans war was perpetually carried on. Somebody was always fancying the cattle or the cornfields of somebody else, or keeping alive ancient feuds by burning kraals and slaughtering opponents. Combinations among the various sections of the community were continually changing, so that it is not only wearisome to follow them through their quarrels, but it can serve no good purpose to do so. The Pondos were far the most numerous of any one party, but they could not reduce the Pondomsis, the Bacas, or the Xesibes to subjection. As for Faku, he gained the reputation, which he kept to the day of his death, of being a faithful ally of the British government, which being interpreted means that he was always ready to fall upon the Xosas and Tembus when the Cape Colony was at war with them, and stock his kraals with oxen and cows at their expense.

In one respect the Maitland treaty pressed heavily upon the Pondo chief. The Natal government maintained that as he was the paramount ruler of all the people living in the country along their south-western border, he was bound to prevent stock-lifting by his subjects, and when the Bushmen of the uplands committed depredations he was held responsible and compelled to make good the loss. In 1850 his nominal dignity cost him in this way a thousand head of cattle, the whole spoil of a raid upon his neighbours' kraals. Naturally this irritated him, and while smarting under the loss of his oxen he sent word to Maritzburg that he had not asked for the upper country, Sir Peregrine Maitland had forced it upon him, and rather than be held accountable for the misdeeds of its inhabitants he would prefer to see the Natal government taking possession and directly ruling the people in it.

Upon this Mr. Walter Harding was sent to Faku's residence to arrange matters with him, and on the 11th of April 1850 a treaty as formal as that of 1844 was drawn up in writing and received the mark of the chief, by which the boundary between Natal and Pondoland was declared to be

the Umtamvuna river from its mouth up to its westernmost source, and thence a straight line continued to the Kathlamba mountains. This treaty was not acted upon, however, nor was it ever ratified by the high commissioner, and shortly after it was arranged, when the lieutenant-governor of Natal restored six hundred of the cattle and the remembrance of the penalty attached to his dignity was less distinct, the chief wished to withdraw from it; but from that time forward it was admitted that the twelfth clause of the Maitland treaty could not be carried out.

Sir George Grey looked upon the tract along the base of the Kathlamba as waste land at his disposal as the highest authority in South Africa. After the war between the Basuto and the Free State in 1858, he was desirous of locating there some of the restless clans whose presence on the Basuto frontier was a permanent hindrance to the establishment of order. His plan was, however, frustrated by an exceedingly clever movement of Nehemiah Moshesh, who under his father's directions hastened across the Drakensberg with a few followers, and located himself on the head waters of the Umzimvubu before the others could be got away. Nehemiah's presence there prevented the settlement of his father's opponents, who would have established a rival Basuto power in Nomansland, as the country below the Drakensberg had now come to be termed. It led also to the claim which in later times the Basuto chiefs set up to the present district of Matatiele as part of their country. At first the most persevering efforts were made by Nehemiah to obtain Sir George Grey's recognition of his right to the land there, and when these failed, the old chief Moshesh advanced a claim on the ground of a cession of the district to him by Faku. But the claim was never recognised by any British authority, and a commission that investigated it in 1875 came to a decision adverse to the Basuto pretensions.

Sir George Grey also proposed to remove the Griqua captain Adam Kok from the district of Philippolis, north of

the Orange river, to a part of Nomansland. Early in 1861 he determined to pay a visit in person to the country between the Umtata and the Umzimkulu, to make arrangements for the location of the Griquas in the uplands, and to ascertain for himself the cause of the constant commotions in the inhabited parts, so that he might be able to devise a remedy. But he fell ill at King-Williamstown, and therefore sent Sir Walter Currie in his stead. As a preliminary step that gentleman paid a visit to Faku. The reverend Thomas Jenkins, a Wesleyan missionary who possessed the confidence of the Pondo chief, was present at the interview, as were also the great counsellors of the tribe. Faku asserted his personal desire for peace, and accused his enemies of being the cause of the disturbances. He thought the colonial government would be able to keep them in better order than he could, and he therefore offered to cede the whole country between the Drakensberg and a line which he named, extending from the Umtata to the Umzimkulu, upon condition of the British authorities exercising direct rule over it.

It was a very politic offer, this of the clever Pondo chief. For years he had been vainly endeavouring to reduce his enemies to subjection, and now he proposed to hand most of them over to the colonial government to be kept quiet, while he crushed or absorbed the rest. This is not the light in which the proposed cession was regarded by the British authorities, but there can be no doubt of its being Faku's secret view. The line would leave him more land than he ever actually had under his control before, and it would leave his enemies within it entirely at his mercy. That the offer thus made in March 1861, though considered by the colonial government thenceforth as binding upon the Pondos, was not acted upon at once was no fault of Faku. Sir Walter Currie went carefully over the proposed line, and visited the chiefs living northwest of it. He found each of them professing a desire for peace and endeavouring to throw the blame of the disturbances upon some of the

others. All expressed a wish to be taken under the protection of the colonial government, and a willingness to receive magistrates.

It 1863 Sir Philip Wodehouse located Adam Kok's Griquas in that part of Nomansland east of the Umzimvubu which is now comprised in the districts of Kokstad and Umzimkulu. It is from them that the whole territory has since been termed Griqualand East. The Natal government pressed its claim to the land ceded to it by Faku in April 1850, and a meeting was arranged between Sir Walter Currie and Dr. Sutherland, the surveyor-general of Natal, to define clearly the western boundary of that colony. The meeting took place on the 1st of March 1862. Dr. Sutherland claimed a line from the source of the Umtamvuna to the source of the Tina, which would have taken in a large portion of the unoccupied territory and not have left sufficient ground on which to locate the Griquas, but to this Sir Walter Currie would not consent. They could not come to an agreement, and the high commissioner then ignored the Natal claim and fixed the boundary where it is at present.

The object of placing the Griquas there was to establish in Nomansland a power, acting under British prestige, believed to be sufficiently civilised to set a good example and sufficiently strong to maintain order. But the scheme was an utter failure, and in a few years Adam Kok was obliged to ask that a British resident should be stationed in the country to endeavour to keep the different sections of the inhabitants from exterminating each other.

Kok was able to perform one service, however, in driving Nehemiah Moshesh out of the country. That individual had been doing his utmost to extend Basuto influence. When the Griquas left Philippolis they moved into Basutoland, where they remained nearly two years before they crossed the Drakensberg. Old Moshesh was desirous that Kok should settle in Nomansland as his vassal, and as the Griqua captain would not do so, Nehemiah was strengthened for the purpose of annoying him. The Basuto managed to

plunder the Griquas of a good many cattle, but ultimately Nehemiah and his robber band were attacked and compelled to recross the Drakensberg.

The wars which began in 1865 between the Basuto and the Orange Free State drove a considerable number of people into Nomansland. In 1867 the Monaheng clan under Lebenya abandoned Basutoland and crossed over the mountains into the waste country below. Another large clan followed under Makwai, the chief of highest rank in the house of Moshesh, when his stronghold was taken by the Free State forces. These served as centres of attraction, to which different small parties were subsequently drawn. There went also over from the Wittebergen reserve, now the district of Herschel, the Batlokua clan under the chief Lehana, son of the celebrated Sikonyela, the lifelong enemy of Moshesh. In March 1869, just after the convention of Aliwal North was arranged, Sir Philip Wodehouse crossed over into Nomansland, taking with him from Herschel the Hlubi chief Zibi, grandson of Umpangazita, with his clan. Another section of the Hlubi tribe, under the chief Ludidi, a younger brother of Langalibalele, had been resident in the country some years. To all the recent immigrants the high commissioner gave tracts of land along the base of the Drakensberg. Makwai he placed under Adam Kok, and extended the Griqua district westward to the Kenigha river, thus including in it the whole of Matatiele. Lebenya and Zibi he placed together, giving them the ground from the Kenigha to the Tina, without laying down any boundary between them. The land between the Tina and the Eland's river he gave to Lehana.

In January 1872 a commission, consisting of Messrs. C. D. Griffith, governor's agent in Basutoland, James Ayliff, resident magistrate of Wodehouse, and J. Murray Grant, inspector of the frontier armed and mounted police, was appointed to investigate the cause of the constant dissensions in Nomansland and to arrange boundaries between the various tribes and clans.

The commission found the country in a state of almost indescribable confusion. Everywhere traces of burnt kraals and devastated gardens were to be seen, while there was hardly a clan that did not regard its neighbours as its enemies. Most of them, however, seemed weary of war and willing to submit to a controlling power. These asked that the Cape colonial government should assume authority over them all, by sending magistrates into the country, in which case they promised to pay hut tax. The chiefs who made this request were Makaula, son of Ncapayi, of the Bacas, Umhlonhlo, of the Pondomsis, Lehana, of the Batlokua, Lebenya, of the Basuto, Ludidi and Zibi, of the Hlubis, and Jojo, of the Xesibes. The last named was on the Pondo side of the line named by Faku, all the others were within Nomansland. Umditshwa held aloof from the commission.

Umqikela, who on the 29th of October 1867 had succeeded Faku as paramount chief of the Pondos, objected to interference in the territory west of the Umzimvubu, as he denied that any land on that side had been ceded by his father. The commission, however, recommended that the line described by Faku to Sir Walter Currie should be maintained, and the colonial government decided to adhere to it, as it had been recognised ever since 1861.

Some boundaries were laid down and some promises to keep the peace obtained, but the commission could do little beyond reporting the condition of affairs. The conclusion it arrived at was embodied in a recommendation that Nomansland should be brought under British authority, and that magistrates should be appointed to exercise jurisdiction over the people.

This was the condition of matters in the abandoned territory at the close of 1872, and it shows how disastrous to South Africa was the mistaken policy of the time. Twenty thousand Europeans could easily have been provided with homes on land that had been allotted to barbarians.

CHAPTER LXVI.

SIR PHILIP EDMOND WODEHOUSE, GOVERNOR AND HIGH COMMISSIONER—(*continued*).

WITH the abandonment of the Transkeian territory the expansion of British Kaffraria was no longer possible, and its area was too small and its European population too few in number to maintain an independent government, still the majority of its white inhabitants were as much opposed to its incorporation with the Cape Colony as ever. They believed that as a crown colony Great Britain must continue to protect them, whereas if they were absorbed by the Cape Colony the probabilities were that the imperial troops would be withdrawn, and now that a great number of Bantu were massed on their border, their position was more dangerous than before.

In September 1864 Sir Philip Wodehouse visited King-Williamstown, when a deputation from the inhabitants waited upon him and expressed their views to this effect. They reminded him of his promise that they should not be annexed without their consent, and they asked him to endeavour to procure the establishment of a legislative council in the province. He replied admitting his promise, but pointing out the deficiency in the revenue and the disinclination of the imperial government to make further grants, and held out no expectation that their views would be supported in England. A minority of the people in the province, led by Mr.—later Sir—J. Gordon Sprigg, seeing no prospect of successful resistance and realising that a British dependency unable to pay its civil servants, much less to carry out any public works, was an anomaly, now declared

in favour of annexation and an attempt to obtain responsible government for the united colony. On the 10th of September a meeting was held at the village of Maclean, when a memorial to the high commissioner was drawn up and signed by one hundred and forty-five persons in favour of incorporation with the Cape Colony.

In February 1864 the whole of the convicts in British Kaffraria were sent to East London, where they were employed thereafter for some time in constructing a sea wall on the eastern side of the mouth of the Buffalo river. It was the cheapest way of employing them, which was the principal object in view, as the harbour works were very slightly advanced by their labour.

In December 1864 the popular lieutenant-governor, Lieutenant-Colonel John Maclean, was transferred to Natal, very much to the regret of the inhabitants, European and Bantu alike, all of whom held him in the highest esteem. On the 24th of that month Mr. Robert Graham, civil commissioner of Albany, succeeded him, with the title of governor's deputy.

On the 13th of July 1864 the governor informed the secretary of state that both the colonies opposed union because they wished the responsibility for the protection of British Kaffraria to remain with the British government, and he suggested that the best way to bring it about would be by an act of the imperial parliament. This was approved of, and on the 14th of December he forwarded the draft of a bill for the purpose. Mr. Cardwell promised to bring it before parliament, as he desired annexation in order that the British treasury might be relieved of expense.

The imperial act was passed, but was only to come in force in case the Cape parliament should refuse to annex the little colony of its own accord. It provided that "if the parliament of the Cape of Good Hope makes provision for the incorporation of British Kaffraria, which they are hereby empowered to do, and the governor of the Cape of Good Hope, as governor of British Kaffraria, assents to such

provision by an instrument under his hand and under the seal of British Kaffraria, then from and after the date of such assent British Kaffraria shall become incorporated with the Cape of Good Hope on the terms of such provision for all purposes whatever, as if it had always formed part of the Cape of Good Hope." It gave four members in the house of assembly for two new constituencies into which British Kaffraria was to be divided, and as the members representing the eastern province of the existing Cape Colony believed that these would of necessity be ranged on their side, it was regarded as a menace by the west.

Armed with this act, Sir Philip Wodehouse opened parliament in Capetown on the 27th of April 1865. In his address he stated that the imperial authorities were steadfastly opposed to the extension of European occupation, but that he hoped to obtain the Tambookie location within the borders of the colony for settlement by farmers. As parliament in 1862 declined to sanction the annexation of British Kaffraria, he had applied to the imperial parliament to pass an act for that purpose, which had been done. Bills would, however, be introduced to enable the Cape parliament to effect the annexation itself, and also to increase the number of representatives in both houses.

On the 16th of May the bills alluded to were brought before the house of assembly by the colonial secretary, and were read the first time. It was proposed in one of them to increase the members of the legislative council to twenty-two and of the house of assembly to sixty-two. Thereupon Mr. Solomon gave notice of his intention to bring forward a resolution protesting against the unconstitutional and unjust deed of the imperial parliament in passing the annexation act now held in terrorem over the Cape.

Accordingly on the 22nd of May he moved, and Mr. Molteno seconded, a resolution of great length to that effect. Mr. Rutherford moved, and Mr. Manuel seconded, an amendment modifying some of the expressions, but retaining the full sense of Mr. Solomon's motion, and after a brief

discussion, in which the opinion was freely expressed that a parliament in the colony was a mere deceptive sham if it could be subjected to such "arbitrary interference" in a matter of the greatest importance, on the 23rd the amendment was carried without a division. It ended with the following paragraphs:—

"This house is further of opinion that the course adopted by Sir P. E. Wodehouse in reference to the annexation and native questions generally, as illustrated by the papers upon these subjects now before the house, is one calculated to deprive him of that degree of the confidence of this house and of the country, which is so essential to the proper conduct of affairs in a colony in which representative institutions have been established.

"That for these reasons, whilst giving no opinion upon the expediency or otherwise of the incorporation of British Kaffraria with this colony, this house, on behalf of the people of this colony, protests, as it hereby does protest, against this arbitrary act of the imperial parliament, prompted, avowedly, by a desire to throw upon this colony the whole or a largely increased portion of the expense and burden of the measures for the military defence of the crown colony of British Kaffraria, over which measures, as well as over the policy pursued towards the native tribes beyond our frontier, which are entirely in the hands of her Majesty's high commissioner, this parliament has not exercised, and cannot exercise, any control, and for which it is not, and ought not to be held, in any way responsible. And this house further protests against this colony being held responsible for any larger portion of the expense of frontier defence than it now bears in consequence of the incorporation of British Kaffraria which has been forced upon it. And this house protests against the fact of its legislating on the subject being taken to imply its concurrence in that act, or its admission that the imperial parliament was justified, under the circumstances, to exercise its paramount authority in the way that it has done."

The struggle between the western and the eastern members began with a motion to amalgamate the Kaffrarian annexation bill and the additional representation bill brought in by the government. The easterns naturally wished the annexation bill to be carried, which they believed would give them four more votes, and the additional representation bill, which would keep the number of members of the two provinces in the same proportion as it then was, to be thrown out. Most of the midland members, however, seemed more apprehensive of eastern than of western

domination, and the bills were therefore amalgamated by twenty votes against eleven and on the 30th of May were read for the first time in the house of assembly in that form.

On the 2nd of June the amalgamated bill passed its second reading by twenty-one votes to ten, but on the 29th, when it was to have come before the assembly as a committee, the debates were so animated and the opposition of the eastern members was so determined that the house sat through the whole night and did not rise until eleven o'clock in the morning of the 30th. The opposition, which now degenerated into simple obstruction, was continued until the 19th of July, when at last the bill reached the committee stage.

On the 4th of August, when it came on for the third reading, the eastern members, rather than be defeated on a division, left the house in a body. It was therefore carried, and on the 9th it came before the legislative council. There the opposition was even stronger than in the assembly, and was continued with hardly any respite until the 14th of September, when the bill passed its third reading by seven votes against six. The eastern members—the honourable Messrs. Robert Godlonton, George Wood, William Cock, Charles Pote, Samuel Cawood, and Henry Tucker—even then did not cease their opposition. They at once handed in a protest against the enactment of the bill, which was entered on the minutes, but of course had no effect.

On the 10th of October parliament was prorogued, after the longest and stormiest session yet known, and among other acts assented to on behalf of the crown was the one annexing British Kaffraria to the Cape Colony.

It provided that as soon as the governor of British Kaffraria should pass an ordinance dividing that colony into two electoral divisions, and should proclaim in the *Gazette* the names of the members returned to the house of assembly for those divisions, the incorporation should be complete. For the election of members of the legislative

council, the two new divisions were to form part of the eastern province. The supreme court of British Kaffraria was abolished, and the eastern districts court was substituted for it, but the office for the registry of deeds remained as it was. The number of members of the legislative council was increased to twenty-one by adding three for the eastern and three for the western province, and of the house of assembly to sixty-six by creating, in addition to the two Kaffrarian divisions, the new divisions of Aliwal North, Namaqualand, Oudtshoorn, Piketberg, Richmond, Riversdale, Queenstown, and Victoria West, each to return two representatives.

On the 23rd of November an ordinance was issued by Sir Philip Wodehouse, as governor of British Kaffraria, dividing that territory into the two magisterial and fiscal districts of King-Williamstown and East London, each of which was to be an electoral division. A registration of qualified voters then took place, and courts were held for the nomination of members of the house of assembly. On the 5th of April 1866 the elections took place, when Mr. Joseph Walker and Dr. James Peters were returned for King-Williamstown, and Messrs. William Bell and Henry Sparks for East London. In King-Williamstown only one hundred and twenty-two voters went to the poll. On the 17th of April a proclamation was issued by the governor announcing the names of the members, and that all the preliminaries required by the annexation act being now completed, the two new districts previously forming British Kaffraria were incorporated with the Cape Colony.

On the same day, Mr. Simeon Jacobs, the attorney-general of British Kaffraria, was appointed solicitor-general, and forthwith went to reside in Grahamstown. The judge, Mr. James Coleman Fitzpatrick, was appointed a member of the supreme court, and on the 13th of August replaced Mr. Justice Connor as one of the judges of the eastern districts court, Mr. Petrus Johannes Denyssen being the other. Mr. Richard Taylor remained at King-Williamstown as civil

commissioner and resident magistrate, and Mr. Matthew Jennings remained at East London in the same capacity. Mr. Joseph Walker having resigned his seat, Mr.—later Sir—Charles Abercrombie Smith in August succeeded him as member of the house of assembly for King-Williamstown. Dr. Peters, the other member first elected, did not trouble himself to attend the next session, and consequently his seat was declared vacant. Mr.—afterwards Sir—Charles Mills, a gentleman of great ability who in later years became agent-general for the colony in England, was then, in April 1867, elected in his stead.

A proclamation was issued on the 17th of April 1866 directing the election of the six new members of the legislative council, and Messrs. John Centlivres Chase, Dennis Harper Kennelly, and Richard Joseph Painter were returned unopposed for the eastern districts, little or no interest being taken in the matter by the Kaffrarian electors.

From the commencement of 1866 the trade returns through East London are included in those of the Cape Colony. Previous to that time they were: imports, 1862 £127,857, 1863 £152,377, 1864 £105,371, and 1865 £78,349; exports, 1862 £43,873, 1863 £24,882, 1864 £31,141, and 1865 £28,928. The population at the time of the annexation amounted to: Europeans 8,200, Bantu 81,000.

Wednesday the 17th of May 1865 was marked by one of the most violent storms known in Table Bay since the beginning of the century. A terrific gale from the north-west set in during the night of the 16th, and increased as the day wore on, driving enormous billows before it, and heaping up the water in the bay. There were three steamers—the *Athens*, the *Dane*, and the *Briton*, all belonging to the Union Company—and twenty-five sea-going sailing vessels at anchor at ten o'clock in the morning, besides a large number of cargo and other boats moored near the shore. Early in the morning some of the vessels signalled that they needed additional cables and anchors, and as very large sums were offered by their agents, some

of those adventurous and skilful boatmen for whom Table Bay was then famous ventured to try to convey an anchor and cable to one of the ships, but when close alongside their boat was swamped, and twelve men lost their lives. The first officer of the *Athens* put off in a lifeboat with four volunteers from his ship as a crew to try to rescue the men, but when passing under the stern of the *Dane* his boat was capsized and one of her crew was drowned. The officer and the remainder of the crew managed to grasp ropes flung to them from the *Dane*, and were hauled on board that vessel alive.

During the day the barques *Star of the West*, *Alacrity*, *Deane*, *Frederick Bassil*, *Royal Arthur*, and *Royal Minstrel*, the brigs *Galatea* and *Jane*, the brigantine *Maria Johanna*, the schooners *Clipper*, *Fernande*, *Figilante*, *Isabel*, *Kehrweider*, and *Benjamin Miller*, the cutter *Gem*, and about thirty cargo and other boats parted their cables and were driven ashore between the castle and the mouth of Salt River. Their crews were all rescued, but many of them saved nothing except their lives.

Just after sunset the barque *City of Peterborough* parted her cables and struck on the Sceptre reef, where the cries of the unfortunate people on board could be heard from the shore, but no assistance could be rendered. Captain Wright had his wife and child with him, and there were twelve officers and seamen on board, fifteen souls in all. The night was so pitchy dark that the wreck could not be seen, but for an hour or so cries were heard, and then all was still but the roaring of the gale and the beating of the mountain waves on the shore. In the morning not a vestige of the wreck was to be seen, and it became certain that all on board had perished.

The *Athens*, *Dane*, and *Briton* had their steam up, which partly relieved the strain on their cables, but a little before six o'clock in the evening, as night was setting in, the last cable of the *Athens* snapped. She was to have left for Mauritius on the following day, but none of the passengers

had gone on board. Her first officer was in the *Dane*, and the second and third were on shore on leave. When her cable parted she tried to stand out to sea under full steam, and as long as she could be seen she was making some little headway. Whether her machinery broke down, or whether her fires were put out by the great seas that broke over her, is not known; but about seven o'clock she struck on the rocks at Mouille Point. People gathered quickly on the shore, but it was impossible to rescue the doomed crew. Their shouts were heard for more than two hours, and then the *Athens* went to pieces. Captain Smith, Dr. Curtis, and twenty-eight firemen, seamen, and others who formed her crew perished.

The *Dane*, the *Briton*, and eight sailing vessels rode out the gale, but most of them were badly damaged. The *Galatea*, the *Jane*, the *Frederick Bassil*, and the *Gem* were got afloat again, and were repaired: all the others were total wrecks.

The *Dane* was lost some months later. She left Table Bay for Zanzibar, and at four o'clock in the afternoon of the 1st of December ran on a previously unknown reef about three kilometres and a half from the shore near Cape Recife. She broke up at once, but all on board got safely to land.

On the 17th of May, the day of the great gale in Table Bay, the pretty village of Swellendam was almost destroyed by fire. About two o'clock in the afternoon a building was seen to be alight, and as a perfect hurricane was blowing, the flames spread very rapidly. The public offices, the Wesleyan chapel, the bank, the office of the *Overberg Courant*, several stores, the telegraph office, and over forty dwelling houses were burned to the ground. Towards evening very heavy rain set in, or even more damage would have been done.

The relief works at Tulbagh Kloof were stopped in October 1865, as there were no funds available to carry them on. The severe drought from which the country had

suffered so long still continued, so that employment was not to be had on farms, and the distressed labourers were therefore obliged to betake themselves to the towns and villages, where private benevolence was heavily taxed to prevent actual starvation. The colony had passed through periods of depression before, but never through one of such intensity or long duration.

The pressure of hunger was felt by the Bantu as well as by the other inhabitants, and cattle thefts increased to such an extent that the frontier farmers were almost driven to desperation. In the district of King-Williamstown a number of persons formed themselves into a "mutual protection association," but on the first occasion of exercising the power which they assumed, a retaliatory raid upon the kraal of the petty chief Umjusa, in which a little property was destroyed and two or three individuals were slightly hurt, several of them got into serious trouble for contravening the law. They were sent to Port Elizabeth for trial, on the ground that public opinion on the frontier was so strong in their favour that no jury would bring in a verdict against them. At Port Elizabeth they were acquitted, but the association was brought to an end. The leading member of it, a man of ability who had once been an officer in the British German legion, became in later years a cabinet minister of the Cape Colony.

On the 6th of September 1866 parliament met in Capetown. The delay caused by the carrying out of the British Kaffraria annexation act and the subsequent election of new members for both houses had prevented its opening sooner. The elections had largely turned upon the question of responsible government, those who favoured that measure being convinced that the governor's action must have increased the desire for the change they advocated, but the east was still firmly opposed to it, and it was certain that a motion for its introduction would be outvoted, so it was not brought on. The government was in a more unfavourable position than it had ever been before. The highly

talented, liberal, and courteous attorney-general, Mr. William Porter, who had on many occasions smoothed away differences by his conciliatory address, had retired from office, and on the 20th of March 1866 had been succeeded by Mr. William Downes Griffith, whose manners and speeches were irritating and conducive of opposition. The session was hardly opened when the loss of Mr. Porter began to be felt by all parties in parliament, as well as by the administration.

In his opening speech the governor stated that the public expenditure during the past year had exceeded the revenue by £94,600. He reminded the members that the outlay had been greatly increased since 1854 by the action of parliament, and that the tendency would necessarily be towards still further enlargement. Since that date sixteen new seats of magistracy had been created, the eastern districts court and many periodical courts had been established, prisons had been erected all over the colony, the hospitals had been improved, the frontier police had been increased, the educational system had been developed, telegraphs had been subsidised, and much more had been done. The postal department cost £17,000 a year more than it did then, education £15,000, hospitals £14,000, police and jails £21,000, divisional courts £18,000, and the frontier mounted police £11,000. But since 1854 the wealth of the country, as shown by its exports, had more than trebled, so that the increase of expenditure was fully justified. He proposed to borrow £200,000 for five years at six per cent annual interest, to revise the customs duties to make them more productive, and to levy duties on exports for five years. To relieve the distress among the labouring classes and to prevent the crime then so prevalent owing to that distress, he proposed that the government should construct a railway from Wellington to Worcester in the west, and from Port Elizabeth towards Grahamstown in the east.

Parliament would not entertain the governor's proposal of a duty on exports nor sanction the construction of the

railways named. They passed bills to raise £250,000 on loan to pay unsecured debts and meet the current deficiency in the revenue, and they determined to reduce expenses to such an extent as to equalise the revenue and the expenditure without further taxation. The colonists, they declared, were quite unable to bear any new imposts. Already the farmers were crying out against the excessive taxes which they were obliged to pay, and some of them were moving to the republics as the only means of obtaining relief. To lay heavier burdens upon them would merely promote emigration, so that the revenue would be diminished instead of being enlarged. A retrenchment committee was appointed by the house of assembly, which took evidence and prepared a report in favour of abolishing several departments altogether, and cutting down others greatly. This report was adopted, and the governor was requested to frame the estimates for the coming year in accordance with it.

On the 28th of December the estimates were sent in, which showed a reduction of only a little more than £20,000 under those of the previous year. They were accompanied by a message in which the governor announced that he was opposed to retrenchment on the scale laid down, that he favoured strict economy, but held that with the growth of the colony and the advancement of its commerce and agriculture increased institutions were necessary. The reductions made in the estimates were chiefly in the expenses of parliament itself and in the abolition of a number of magistrates' courts, which irritated the members so greatly that they would not even discuss the matter. Instead of doing so, they requested that an appropriation bill for six months should be sent in, which was done on the following day.

There was no possibility of reconciling the conflicting views, so after supplies were voted to enable the administration to be carried on for the next half year, on the 12th of January 1867 parliament was prorogued. In the preceding session a vote of censure had been passed upon the governor,

it was his turn now, and he retorted in full measure, as his closing speech will show :

“I have requested your attendance here this day from the conviction that the public interests will not derive any advantage from the prolongation of the present session of parliament.

“It has been usual on all such occasions for the head of the government to pass some observations on the principal occurrences of the session, and in the name of the colony to recognise the services rendered by the two houses of parliament. And I have carefully considered what course I ought now to take.

“When the session opened, and it became my duty to put before you the position of affairs and the policy which the government proposed for your adoption, there was the greatest need for a calm and patient discussion of it, and for the application of sound but vigorous remedies. In that explanation I endeavoured, to the extent of my ability, to avoid the use of language which would cause irritation or annoyance in any quarter, or could oppose obstacles to the satisfactory progress of the business of the session. I do not now wish to conceal my regret that the session should have proved so unproductive of good measures, and that so very little has been done to improve our position.

“But one of the consequences of this failure is that I shall very shortly be obliged to request your attendance again in parliament. It will therefore be well for us, instead of dwelling with regret on the past, to turn our thoughts to an improvement of the future. It would be impossible for me at this moment to review the transactions of the session without using arguments and giving utterance to opinions that must inevitably be unacceptable to some of those to whom they must be addressed. A few months hence the recollection of these events will be less prominent, fresh occurrences will occupy our attention, and we may be able again to enter on our labours in charity and harmony, and anxious, above all, that the fruits of the new session may be a full compensation for the unprofitableness of that now closing.”

In this session Mr. Solomon again endeavoured to conduct a bill through parliament for the abolition of state grants to various churches in the colony, which carried with them the appointment of the clergymen by the government. The feeling in favour of this measure had been growing of late years, but was not yet sufficiently strong to command a majority in parliament. On the 11th of October, after a lengthy but temperate discussion, the bill was thrown out in the house of assembly by twenty-eight votes against twenty-five.

On the 6th of October 1866 the governor met with a sore domestic calamity in the death of Lady Wodehouse, after a prolonged and painful illness. Her remains were interred in St. Paul's churchyard at Rondebosch. No other member of his family accompanied the governor to South Africa, so that he was now quite alone, and naturally much sympathy was felt with him in this time of trouble.

In the year 1867 the distress in the colony reached the most acute point that it attained at any time during the nineteenth century. The drought continued, so that agricultural operations could not be carried on to any extent, and as a consequence commerce remained depressed. The rough labourers, consisting almost entirely of coloured people, who at the best of times put nothing by, were unable to obtain employment, and were therefore in a condition of great want. As customary in such cases, they crowded into the towns, where they could manage to exist better than in the country.

Early in the year it was noticed that there was an unusual amount of sickness and a high rate of mortality in several districts of the colony, but more especially in certain streets in Capetown. It soon became evident that an epidemic of low fever was passing over, in which the death rate was fully one in five of persons attacked. Portions of the colony where there was no want of food escaped infection, but wherever coloured people were crowded closely together without sufficient sustenance, as at mission stations, in the large villages of the southwest, and in Capetown, the disease caused great havoc. During the five months from June to October 1867, when the fever was most prevalent, more than a thousand persons above the average number died in Capetown alone.

The city was divided into twelve districts, in each of which the government maintained a medical officer and supplied medicine free of charge. The municipality appointed a special streetkeeper to each of these districts, whose duty it was to see that destitute sick persons were conveyed to

the hospitals and to enforce cleanliness. A gang of labourers was employed to go round periodically, clear out the rooms in the worst streets, and whitewash the walls. The benevolent societies united their resources, and opened soup kitchens in different localities, where soup and bread were distributed to those in want of food. Through these exertions the epidemic gradually abated in violence, though it was not thoroughly overcome before January 1868.

In their report to the government, dated 31st of March 1868, the medical committee stated that "as bearing with importance and significance on their theory that this epidemic fever was essentially induced by dirt and want, they desired to record the important facts: 1st, that in the military garrison of the town, numbering with its followers one thousand nine hundred and sixty persons, there were but two deaths from fever; 2nd, that in the convict barracks, with their nine hundred occupants, there were no cases at all; 3rd, that at Robben Island, with its six hundred lepers, lunatics, and paupers, with their attendants, there were but two cases of the mildest kind; as also, that in the less populated country parts of the Cape division, there did not appear to have been more than eight hundred cases, with some sixty deaths, in a population of not less than eighteen thousand people, very many of whom were poor and badly housed and fed."

The number of Europeans attacked was much less than of coloured people, but as the races were in close contact with each other the white inhabitants were by no means immune. The medical officers, hospital attendants, and visitors of the sick suffered very severely, and those low grade whites who consorted with blacks and lived with them in the filthy outskirts of the city fared no better than their coloured companions. At that time Capetown was poorly provided with water, being dependent on the two old reservoirs only, and the people who resided in the higher portions of the city were unable, even if they had been willing, to obtain in the protracted drought more than barely sufficient for drinking and culinary purposes. To this circumstance, to

some extent at least, the spread of the fever may have been due.

In other parts of the colony the loss of life was considerable, but nowhere else was it so great, in proportion to the number of inhabitants, as in Capetown.

When parliament met, after a short recess, on the 13th of April 1867, the governor had nothing cheering to communicate beyond his acceptance of the decision as to retrenchment and his willingness to give effect to it in detail to the best of his ability. He informed the members that in the estimates to be submitted to them he would propose to dispense with six of the civil commissioners and resident magistrates, besides a large number of other officials, but that the revenue and expenditure could not be equalised in this manner, and further taxation would therefore be necessary. The deficiency in the estimates would be shown to be £59,129, and in addition to several taxing bills of minor importance a duty upon exports according to their value would be proposed to meet this.

The governor was not altogether without supporters in his views, and since the last session an attempt had been made by some of these to show that a duty on exports would not weigh heavily upon the colonists and would check the tendency to remove to the republics then so prevalent. A considerable portion of the wool and skins sent away by sea came from the republics, so that the burden would be partly borne by people living there, and removal from the colony would not relieve the farmers from it. But such arguments had no effect upon the great body of the European inhabitants, who were firmly opposed to the levy of any duties upon South African produce, and who believed that the governor's proposal, if carried out, would merely divert the northern trade to Natal. This was the opinion, also, of a great majority of the members of parliament, who heard with regret that the governor intended to bring on again a measure that had been rejected before. It foreboded, they feared, another session

as stormy as the last, though he stated that he would spare no pains to establish a good understanding.

"It is objected, he said, that the export duty is a tax upon wool. For what do we now hold this country but for wool? Take away wool, and in one locality copper, and, commercially speaking, what is left? The cost of governing this country is heavy, on account of its great extent and most scanty population. Year after year sheep farmers have gone in search of wealth into regions more and more remote. You have thought it right to follow them with posts, police, and magistracies, which they are now most desirous of retaining. Is it unjust that wool should pay, in some shape, for all that is done for it? If you object on principle to an export duty, and believe that it will operate injuriously on the wool growers, irrespectively of the actual rate, by all means adopt other plans for obtaining the funds. We suggest this as the cheapest, most feasible, and best adapted to our circumstances."

Following this, the governor made a statement which, in the distressed condition of the colony, created a feeling akin to consternation. He said:

"You are aware that for several years it has been the determination of the parliament and government of the united kingdom to require of its colonial possessions a considerable contribution towards the maintenance of the garrisons provided out of its own population for their military defence, and you know that from time to time the principle has been acted upon in most of the chief colonies. In the session of 1865 I placed before you correspondence showing an intention to make such a demand upon you, as well as the arguments by which in December 1864 I had endeavoured to obtain a postponement of it. In July following I was informed by the secretary of state that, in deference to my opinion that a more unfavourable time could not be selected, he had abstained from pressing the subject upon me under the existing difficulties, but that I must distinctly understand that postponement could not be of long duration, and that the whole subject of the military expenditure for the defence of the Cape must soon be carefully reviewed.

"In December 1865 I privately represented to the secretary of state how ill able the colony still was to take up any additional burden on this account, and succeeded in obtaining a further postponement. In October last I repeated that representation, but have been unsuccessful; and perhaps it was unreasonable to expect that her Majesty's government, by making such an exception in our case, should expose themselves to just remonstrances from other colonies in whose case the principle had been fully enforced.

"The purport of the instructions conveyed to me is as follows: there are in the South African command five infantry regiments, besides the

Cape mounted rifles, in respect to which last I have not received any directions. Of the five regiments, one will be immediately withdrawn, one will be considered as allotted to Natal and St. Helena, the remaining three will be regarded as the garrison of the Cape. And if the terms now proposed be accepted, during 1867 no charge will be made for any part of this force. In 1868 one regiment must be paid for at the rate of £40 per man, in 1869 two must be paid for at the same rate, and for the three following years payment must be made at the Australian rate for the whole force in the colony, namely £40 for every infantry soldier and £70 for every artilleryman. In default of any of these payments, her Majesty's government will be at liberty to withdraw the troops, either wholly, or to such extent as they may judge expedient."

After this announcement, which was felt by all the members as requiring from the colony a sum of money which it would be impossible under the existing circumstances to raise, with the alternative of leaving the frontier districts exposed to the ravages of tribes of barbarians that, much against the will of the European inhabitants, had been recently massed upon the border, the governor proceeded to set forth his plan for bringing the administration and the representatives of the people into harmony with each other. He said:

"There is yet one other subject, but the most important of all, to which I wish on this occasion to call your attention, and in respect to which the remarks I am about to make, and the proposal I shall submit to you, must be accepted as emanating from the local government, and put forth exclusively on their responsibility. Whether the proposal find favour in your eyes, or whether you regard it as inadmissible, I hope you will receive it as prompted by a constant attention to your affairs and examination of your position, as well as by the conviction that at this crisis the government cannot consistently with its duty shrink from suggesting any measure calculated, in its opinion, to afford relief to the colony. I refer to the present constitution of the legislature of the colony. You will remember that in the course of last year a proposition was publicly mooted for the abolition of the legislative council. But I should be sorry if the proposal I am about to make were regarded in that light, or if we could be accused of desiring to draw a comparison between the merits of the two houses of parliament. On the contrary, I wish you dispassionately to consider whether one legislative chamber might not with advantage be substituted for the two now existing. I honestly believe that in the present state of the country, and with such a form of executive government as you now have, the scheme of representation by means of two houses constitutes an unnecessary burthen, pecuniary and general, on the people of the colony.

No argument is necessary to establish its expense, and in other respects the weight of it is almost equally self evident. In England, a seat in the house of commons is regarded as a mark of honourable distinction, and the right to take part in its proceedings is an enviable privilege. In this colony, on the contrary, members of parliament are invariably spoken of as those who submit to heavy sacrifices for the public good. When a vacancy occurs, discussions always arise as to the probability of inducing eligible gentlemen to devote themselves to parliamentary business, and at the same time to submit to exclusion from political office. But it is not so much from consideration of the burthen as on other grounds that I hope you will give this proposal a patient examination. The executive government does not now possess the means of exercising that influence over the deliberations of parliament which is essential to good government. There is a constant tendency to resist our recommendations, unaccompanied by any indication in other quarters of a better general policy, still less of a power to exercise a steady and healthy control over the action of parliament. We have at all times opposed to us the common propensity of mankind to find fault with those in authority, the strong temptation to those out of office to induce a belief in their superior abilities, unchecked by any responsibilities. We have nothing to counteract these influences. We have no prizes to offer to political talent and ambition. The greater the numbers of the two houses and the greater the difficulties in which the colony is placed, the stronger does the pressure on the government become, the less support does it receive. Possibly the introduction of responsible government might produce more unanimity of action. If it did not, the weakness and confusion would be greater than ever.

“Again, I do not believe there is any prospect of this colony being governed in a manner calculated to promote the best interests of the people, unless means can be found for allaying that most pernicious political jealousy which divides the eastern and western provinces, and under the influence of which a member who lends himself to the hindrance of all useful business is held up to his constituents as meritoriously discharging the functions of their representative. If this pernicious spirit cannot be overcome, and that speedily, your condition must day by day become worse. The public looks to the government, and very properly, for the introduction of useful measures; but the government itself is paralysed by the anticipation that its measures will fall to the ground, not so much from inherent defects as from the operation of provincial hostility. As a remedy, separation under existing circumstances recommends itself less than at any former period. Removal of the seat of government is, I apprehend, equally improbable. But the occasional assembly of the legislature elsewhere than at Capetown is in itself very desirable, and may, if you think fit, be rendered easy of accomplishment. In 1864, having accidental facilities in that year for so doing, I called the parliament together at Grahamstown; and although I have been

astonished at the personal consequences to myself, consequences which might well deter me from making any similar attempt, I am nevertheless satisfied that what was done then was right and proper, and that the welfare of the colony can best be assured by concessions of that nature, demanding the smallest sacrifice. Indeed, in making this proposal, I have no wish to keep out of view the fact that it includes concessions. I avow my desire to obtain now these most moderate concessions, as the means of delivering the colony from the present bickering, and perhaps of saving it from being at some future day divided into two discontented and weak communities. It may even be questioned whether the term concession can be properly applied to an arrangement by means of which, and at no cost, the whole colony can obtain that good government and useful legislation which are now in a great degree beyond its reach. Moreover, it is in the eastern districts that the functions of government are more immediately called into action, and that the most difficult political questions present themselves for solution, and I have sometimes observed on the part of western members—I hope I may say it without offence—I have observed a disposition, when what are termed native questions have been under discussion, to abdicate their proper functions, to abstain from a careful examination of the views or proposals of the government on their merits, and to set them aside in deference to the eastern members.

“It is now, and whatever may be its form, it must ever be, one of the most important and at the same time most difficult duties of the executive government, to hold a just balance between the European and native races; and that is, above all things, a matter in which it most especially needs the impartial and enlightened support and control of western members. If that control is to be wisely and beneficially exerted, it must be guided by personal acquaintance with the matters treated of, and with the people whose interests are at stake, an acquaintance which can scarcely be acquired without, at least, an occasional visit to that part of the colony.

“It is manifest that the numbers of the two houses of parliament, as now constituted, present a most formidable impediment to the attainment of such advantages; and it is for that and many other reasons that I venture to ask you to inquire whether better arrangements may not be made.

“I would suggest that the colony should be divided as equally as practicable into six electoral circles, each to return three members; and that to the eighteen to be thus elected should be added three officers of the executive government.

“This proposal is incompatible with the immediate introduction of responsible government. But with a legislature thus composed, I believe that a sufficient degree of popular control could be exercised over an executive formed on the present model. I think that in each circle there would be found those competent to represent it

in parliament, and glad to find themselves distinguished by their election.

“With such a body there would be no difficulty in convening it at either end of the colony, as the public necessities might dictate. Hereafter, as the colony advances in wealth, intelligence, and civilisation, and when it feels itself in a position to claim parliamentary government, with the accompaniments properly appertaining to it,—and without which, to say the least, it creates much embarrassment,—then it will be no difficult task to restore the present representative bodies. What are now so highly needed are union and economy.

“I trust that in thus submitting the proposal at the opening of your session, I have followed the course which is both most respectful to yourselves and most likely to gain for it an impartial verdict. You are perfectly able to pronounce upon its merits, and in your hands I must now leave it. In the hour of your country’s real need, you will cast aside all personal considerations, and you will seek only her true interests.”

The plan thus brought forward was similar to that adopted some years later for the election of members of the legislative council, with the exception of the right of three officials appointed by the crown to hold seats. Time was allowed for the consideration of so momentous a change, as early in the session the colonial secretary gave notice that he would move in the house of assembly on the 8th of June:

“That in the present condition of the colony it is desirable, with a view to economy and the better administration of affairs, that there should be only one legislative chamber.

“That it is further desirable that the number of parliamentary representatives should be reduced below the present number.

“That it is further desirable that for the election of the members of the single legislative chamber the present electoral divisions be grouped in six electoral circles, as under, and that each circle return three members.

“That the governor be respectfully requested to introduce a bill for giving effect to the preceding resolutions.

		<i>Europeans.</i>	<i>Coloured people.</i>
“Circle of King-Williamstown	- - -	26,855	181,613
„ Grahamstown	- - -	30,347	44,016
„ Graaff-Reinet	- - -	30,168	43,283
„ Swellendam	- - -	32,561	29,748
„ Tulbagh	- - -	27,803	49,010
„ Capetown	- - -	34,138	37,654”

Antagonism to this proposal of the governor was expressed generally throughout the colony, and it was ascertained at once that the members of parliament would unitedly oppose it as an act, not only of retrogression, but of political suicide. No one had a word to say in favour of it. The voice of all parties was that the condition of the country was indeed deplorable, but to add so greatly to the power of the executive government was not the way to improve it. And so, finding that there was no possibility of carrying the measure, or anything like it, when the time came for bringing his proposed resolutions before the house of assembly, Mr. Southey withdrew his notice, and another of Sir Philip Wodehouse's plans was shattered and gone.

At that very moment a little sparkling stone, picked up far away on the bank of the Orange river, which M. Heritte, the French consul, pronounced to be a diamond which he would willingly give £500 for, was being exhibited in Capetown; but no one could yet foresee that the finding of this brilliant gem by a little child was to alter the whole aspect of affairs in South Africa and replace the deepest depression with unwonted prosperity.

With regard to payment for the troops, both houses of parliament regarded it as impossible. A contribution of £10,000 a year was already being made towards that object, and the frontier armed and mounted police, which was really a defensive force, was maintained entirely by the colony. They resolved therefore to appeal to the mother country to act generously in the matter, and with this view the following resolutions were carried in the house of assembly:

“That the house, while recognising with sentiments of profound gratitude the fostering care of the British government and the generous protection afforded to the colony by the liberal employment of the British forces and expenditure of national treasure in its behalf, learns with great regret and anxiety that it is the intention of her Majesty's government to withdraw the troops at present stationed in it, unless a sum of £40 per man be paid by the colony for their maintenance.

“The house is of opinion that this colony, while willing to do all in its power to meet the views of the imperial government, is totally

unable to contribute towards its defence in money more than it now does (about £100,000 per annum), and that it must therefore be left to her Majesty's government to act in the matter as it may deem just and expedient, with due regard to the peace and welfare of the colony and of the native tribes within and beyond its borders. The house considers, however, that the circumstances and situation of this colony, particularly in reference to the aboriginal tribes,* are peculiar and perilous, and such as to establish a very strong claim on the part of the colony to the exceptional consideration and treatment of the imperial government.

"That these resolutions be transmitted to his Excellency the governor by respectful address, with a view to their being forwarded to the secretary of state for the colonies, with a request for their favourable consideration."

The legislative council adopted these resolutions, but added to them a number of explanatory statements in confirmation of their views. Sir Philip Wodehouse supported the parliament in this matter, on the ground that it would be inexpedient to weaken the power of the executive by removing the garrison, and the imperial government thereupon deferred pressing the claim, and withdrew some of the troops gradually, but did not entirely denude the colony of British soldiers, though payment for their services was not made.

In this session Mr. Molteno brought on again his bill for the introduction of responsible government, which was rejected in the house of assembly by twenty-nine votes against twenty-two.

* By *aboriginal* tribes is here meant the Bantu, who are really no more entitled to be so termed than the descendants of the slaves in the colony are. The Bushmen, the real aborigines of Africa south of the Zambesi, had almost completely disappeared, and no longer gave any one a moment's thought. Sir Philip Wodehouse did not respect their right to territory one whit more than the European colonists, the Hottentots, or the Bantu had done. In giving out the land along the Drakensberg to various clans of Bantu, he took no greater notice of its Bushman occupants than if they had been baboons, nor would any other official in South Africa have thought or acted differently. By no one were they regarded as having any right except to life and liberty if they would keep out of the way, even the poor right to the exclusive title of aborigines, with such claim for consideration as that might give, was denied to them.

Mr. Solomon's bill for the withdrawal of state support to the clergymen of various religious bodies was passed by the house of assembly, but was rejected in the legislative council by nine votes against five.

The governor's proposal to levy duties upon exports was rejected, and the only additional taxation that was consented to was a charge on persons depasturing cattle on crown lands, a practice which was very prevalent in some parts of the colony, and tended to prevent people from acquiring and settling permanently on farms. As a means of equalising the revenue and the expenditure, retrenchment on the scale approved of in the preceding session was abandoned, and none of the magistracies were abolished, though other expenses were cut down considerably. The rivalry between the east and the west was strongly exhibited, particularly towards the close of the session, which ended on the 16th of August.

The only favourable feature that was observable in the financial condition of the country at this time was that the exports were of somewhat greater value than the imports, as may be seen in the following statements:

Imports of the Cape Colony.

1862 - .	£2,498,692	1865 - .	£2,086,700
1863 - .	2,065,200	1866 - .	1,914,060
1864 - .	2,349,048	1867 - .	2,248,867

Trade through the different ports.

		1866.		1867.	
		<i>Imports.</i>	<i>Exports.</i>	<i>Imports.</i>	<i>Exports.</i>
Through	Port Elizabeth -	£913,077	£1,790,375	£1,210,809	£1,671,409
"	Capetown -	859,707	525,722	899,205	510,705
"	East London -	70,528	188,342	44,038	104,502
"	Mossel Bay -	35,135	42,530	43,442	50,884
"	Port Alfred -	3,630	—	28,936	56,982
"	Port Beaufort -	582	19,374	4,694	—
"	Simonstown -	26,401	—	17,743	343
		£1,914,060	£2,566,343	£2,248,867	£2,394,825

Exports of the Cape Colony.

	1862.	1863.	1864.	1865.	1866.	1867.
Wool - - -	£1,276,542	£1,496,329	£1,865,703	£1,680,826	£2,102,513	£1,927,628
Hides and skins - -	128,641	140,353	146,051	149,505	181,424	174,346
Copper ore - -	93,565	103,214	122,602	118,297	88,732	120,521
Grain, meal, etc. - -	35,977	56,667	53,202	30,244	17,709	12,471
Wine - - -	32,468	48,391	26,539	25,716	16,048	11,708
Dried fruit - - -	19,198	13,720	21,596	11,091	3,960	12,540
Dried fish - - -	11,945	13,118	21,028	12,977	21,847	14,184
Horses - - -	5,177	6,605	7,925	3,275	3,746	770
Aloes - - -	3,218	6,607	7,399	9,481	9,459	6,107
Ostrich feathers - -	—	—	—	—	66,416	73,585
Ivory - - -	—	—	—	—	6,035	8,324
Argol - - -	—	—	—	—	1,539	2,381
Other South African products -	94,207	112,891	123,267	103,823	46,915	30,260
	£1,700,938	£1,997,895	£2,395,312	£2,145,235	£2,566,343	£2,394,825

CHAPTER LXVII.

SIR PHILIP EDMOND WODEHOUSE, GOVERNOR AND HIGH COMMISSIONER—(*continued*).

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL CHARLES CRAUFURD HAY, LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR ADMINISTERING THE GOVERNMENT, 20TH OF MAY TO 31ST OF DECEMBER 1870.

IN 1867 Prince Alfred, then duke of Edinburgh, paid his second visit to South Africa. He was at the time captain of the steam frigate *Galatea*, which arrived in Simon's Bay from England on the 15th of August. On the 24th of that month he laid the foundation stone of a dock in Table Bay, and on the 7th of September left in her Majesty's steamer *Petrel* to visit the Knysna, a district containing some of the most beautiful scenery in the colony. He was accompanied by the governor and a large staff, several of whom were accommodated in her Majesty's steamer *Racoon*, which accompanied the *Petrel*. In the extensive forests of the Knysna some elephants were still preserved, and a hunting excursion was arranged, in which two were killed, one by the duke himself. On the 2nd of October the *Galatea* left Simon's Bay for Australia.

At one o'clock in the morning of the 21st of October the transport *Bosphorus*, bound to Bombay, struck on a reef near Cape Saint Francis. The weather had been stormy, and a heavy sea was running, so that the ship broke up within three hours after striking. There were ninety-eight men on board, of whom only forty reached the shore alive. These managed to save themselves on pieces of the wreck, but they had been obliged to cast away all their clothing, and some of them were badly bruised.

In November the long drought from which the colony had suffered was broken for a short time by very heavy rains, which in some places fell like sheets of water. The benefit to the country was considerable, but unfortunately dry weather set in again and destroyed the hope that a cycle of better seasons had commenced.

There was not much change in the condition of the colony in 1868, but what little was perceptible was for the better. The crops, though not very good, were more productive than in the preceding year. The number of European mechanics and labourers without employment in the towns was sensibly diminished, though this arose from the removal of many to other countries, not from an increased demand for their services in South Africa. A fall in the price of wool in England caused the exports to show a reduction in value below those of 1867, but the quantity produced was greater, and other articles were rapidly rising in importance.

In April the monthly mail to Mauritius, which gave the Cape Colony the advantage of connection with the overland route between England and India, was discontinued, but at the same time the Union Steamship Company contracted to convey two mails in a month from and to England by the Atlantic route.

In the session of the Cape parliament, from the 20th of May to the 2nd of September 1868, no business of much importance was transacted, though some useful legislation connected with minor matters was carried through. Mr. Solomon's bill for gradually abolishing state aid to certain churches was approved in the house of assembly by a majority of one, but was thrown out in the legislative council by twelve votes against five.

The greater part of the northern border was at this time in a disturbed condition, owing to depredations by Korana clans and the inability of the other inhabitants, European or mixed breed, successfully to oppose them. Long before the date now reached the Koranas north of the Orange had sunk into obscurity, as many of them had been destroyed,

and those that remained were surrounded by more powerful Bantu clans, so that they could no longer live by plunder as they had done in the early years of the century. But south of that river, where the population consisted only of a few nomadic European and halfbreed graziers and a wretched remnant of the aboriginal Bushmen, who could hardly keep soul and body together now that the game was destroyed, there was still a field open in which they could prey upon others. Here then the most daring of the little bands collected and pursued the occupation of robbers.

The territory had nominally formed part of the Cape Colony ever since Sir Harry Smith proclaimed the Orange the northern boundary, but in reality the wild people living in it were free of restraint and did not even know that after 1847 their position was changed. There were no magistrates' courts near them, and no policemen had ever been seen there except during Mr. Anthing's short visit. The principal Korana clans in the territory were under four captains, named Pofadder, Piet Rooy, Carel Ruyters, and Jan Kivido, who roamed about it and plundered anybody and everybody of cattle whenever an opportunity arose.

To put an end to this condition of affairs an act was passed by the Cape parliament in 1868, providing for the appointment of a magistrate with very large power in criminal cases, who was to have jurisdiction in those parts of the divisions of Namaqualand, Calvinia, Fraserburg, Victoria West, and Hopetown, more than twenty-five miles (forty kilometres) from the seats of the ordinary courts. By another act of the same date the governor was empowered to raise a small force of mounted police for the protection of the northern border. A commando was called out to clear the territory of marauders, and it was anticipated that when this was done order could easily be maintained. The commando, however, was unable to effect anything, as the Koranas avoided coming in contact with it.

On the 19th of October Mr. Maximilian James Jackson was appointed special magistrate, and as soon as a company

of fifty policemen could be enrolled he proceeded to Kenhart. There it became evident that the force at his disposal was insufficient to cope with the difficulties before it, and soon afterwards a hundred and fifty of the frontier armed and mounted police, under Commandant Currie, were sent to the disturbed territory. Mr. Jackson found a number of the aborigines in a starving condition near Kenhart. Of late years some individuals of this race had moved over the Orange into the Kalahari, others had joined the Korana marauders, many had perished, and the remainder, after the destruction of the game, were in a condition of extreme distress. Only one thing could be done with them, if they were not left to die of hunger or to be shot as thieves: they were sent to Calvinia, and were distributed with their own consent as servants among farmers who were willing to employ them.

In May 1869 the Korana clans under Piet Rooy and Jan Kivido fell upon a party of halfbreeds, whom they plundered, and then in cold blood murdered five of the men. Inspector William Wright with thirty of the northern border police and twenty halfbreed volunteers was then sent in pursuit, and on the 29th of the month overtook the marauders at De Tuin, about five hours ride on horseback from Kenhart. An action followed, in which the police were defeated, and it was with difficulty that they made their escape. On the following day, however, Sir Walter Currie with a hundred and fifty of the frontier armed and mounted police arrived at Kenhart.

There was a feud between Pofadder and Piet Rooy, so the former sided with the colonial force, and the other captains with their followers and the Bushmen who had joined them retired to the islands in the Orange river, which they regarded as impregnable strongholds. There, on the 7th of July they were attacked by the police, when in three engagements between fifty and sixty Koranas were killed, and fifteen waggons and carts, twenty-two horses, and a few oxen and goats were recovered, and a good many women

and children were captured, with a loss to the police of eight men wounded.

Unfortunately the health of Sir Walter Currie broke down under the strain of the severe exertion and exposure incidental to such warfare, and he was obliged to desist from pushing his success further. He engaged a force of burghers, halfbreeds, and Koranas of Pofadder's clan, two hundred in all, to keep the field, and with the frontier police returned to the Xosa border. There, after some months, as his health was completely shattered, he retired from the post he had so ably filled, and lingered on a mere wreck of what he had once been until June 1872, when he died. In May 1870 he was succeeded as commandant by Inspector James Henry Bowker.

Mr. Jackson, who was now made inspector of police as well as border magistrate, with the mixed commando and the northern border police, thirty-two horsemen and eighteen footmen when at its full strength, which was seldom the case, continued the operations against the marauders, and by following them up and allowing them no opportunity to gather spoil, he reduced them at length to a condition of extreme want. In November 1869 he succeeded in capturing Piet Rooy and Jan Kivido with some of their followers, and shortly afterwards a number of others voluntarily surrendered. These, one hundred and four men all told, were sent to Capetown to undergo their punishment on the breakwater works, and as many of the half-starved women and children—Korana and Bushman—as could be collected were forwarded to the nearest villages, where they went into service with farmers and others. The clans of Piet Rooy and Jan Kivido were completely broken up, and only Carel Ruyters with some of his band remained at large. The police force was now reduced to forty effective men, and the commando was disbanded, with the exception of thirty or forty halfbreeds, whose services were retained for a short time until order was established.

In November 1870 the government offered to give out farms or rather cattle runs in the territory from five to twenty thousand morgen in extent to approved applicants, to be held under military tenure, but the conditions were so onerous, and the number of armed men to be maintained on each farm was so large, that no one cared to accept the proposed grants. Matters remained fairly quiet until April 1871, when Inspector Jackson and the police having been sent to the diamond fields, a petty Korana captain named Klaas Lukas took advantage of the opportunity to commence a series of robberies. Upon the return of the police, however, tranquillity—or an approach to that condition of things—was again restored, and was maintained for some years.

In 1869 a general election took place, when the most prominent question before the colony was the necessity of reducing the public expenditure to the limit of the existing revenue, as it was held that further taxation could not be borne. For both houses strong majorities were returned pledged to do their utmost in this direction. Sir Philip Wodehouse, however, was of a different opinion. On the 24th of June parliament assembled, when in his opening speech he announced that the excess of expenditure over revenue during the preceding year amounted to £91,306, that retrenchment could not be carried further with any regard for the efficiency of the administration, and that additional taxation would be necessary.

On the 20th of July a government bill was introduced in the assembly for levying a tax of three pence in the pound on all incomes and property of the annual value of £50, to have effect for three years. The assembly was opposed to laying further burdens on the people, and here was a bill introduced for the levy of an impost in an exceedingly obnoxious form. The commonest objection to an income tax, that it places the few at the mercy of the many, was indeed removed by its proposed levy upon incomes as small as £50, but the inquisitorial nature of the impost was regarded as almost equally objectionable in a country

where morality needed to be fostered and no temptation be offered to mendacity. Under any circumstances such a tax would have been regarded as objectionable. On this occasion it was at once rejected, and the governor was requested to submit proposals for retrenchment of expense.

His Excellency thereupon drew up a scheme, which was submitted to the assembly on the 2nd of August. He proposed to substitute for the two existing houses of parliament a single legislative chamber, to consist of a president appointed by the crown, three official members, and twelve members elected for five years. The colony was to be divided into twelve electoral circles, six in the western province and six in the eastern, each of which was to return one member. The yearly saving by the adoption of this scheme he estimated at £11,000. A bill to this effect was introduced by the colonial secretary, and was read the first time.

He proposed further to abolish fourteen civil commissioner-ships, effecting a saving of £6,000 a year, various other offices, which would save £7,605 a year, and to withdraw all grants to agricultural societies, public libraries, museums, and botanical gardens, amounting to £4,000 a year. In all he thus proposed to effect a saving of £28,605 a year, by the virtual destruction of the parliament, the abolition of some of the most necessary public offices, and the withdrawal of assistance from those institutions that mark the difference between a barbarous and a civilised government.

On the 6th of August the colonial secretary moved the second reading of the so-called constitution amendment bill in the assembly. Mr. (later Sir) John Gordon Sprigg, who had just been elected a representative of East London, and who now made his first appearance in the Cape parliament, moved as an amendment that it be read that day six months. The opinion was generally expressed that an upper house was unnecessary, as there was ample provision against hasty legislation in the veto of the governor and of the imperial authorities, and for this reason a number of members were

willing to allow the bill to pass the second reading and to alter it in committee by increasing very largely the proposed representative element; but the great majority, under the leadership of Mr. (later Sir) John Charles Molteno, one of the members for Beaufort West, would have nothing to do with it. It was therefore thrown out by thirty - nine votes against twenty-two.

On the 16th of August Mr. Molteno brought forward a resolution, which was carried and transmitted to the governor, to the effect that the civil establishment had overgrown the necessities of the colony, that the salaries of the governor and the heads of departments were too large, and that there should be a general reduction of all salaries and a weeding out of unnecessary officials. To this his Excellency replied, declining the responsibility of such retrenchment and throwing it upon parliament, that could reduce the estimates submitted to it in any manner and to any extent that it chose, and pass bills concerning the salaries fixed by the constitution ordinance.

This caused a serious difficulty, as it was impossible for members of parliament to judge of the usefulness of every office and the merits of every official as well as the administrative authorities could, but as government would not perform the task, Mr. Molteno and those who supported him were obliged to take it in hand. In the meantime, on the 24th of August, Mr. Probart brought on a motion, "that in the opinion of this house the constitution of the legislature of this colony is needlessly cumbrous and costly, and that a legislative council, to consist of not less than thirty-three or more than sixty-six members, would meet all the requirements of the colony and would be better adapted than the existing two chambers to its means and circumstances." This, when put to the test on the following day, was rejected by thirty-four votes to twenty-four.

On the 7th of September the retrenchment proposals of Mr. Molteno, reducing the administrative staff in number and the salaries of every official from the governor down-

ward, were carried in the assembly, and on the 11th were transmitted to his Excellency.

On the 14th the governor caused new taxing bills to be laid before the house. He proposed to levy an excise duty of one shilling and six pence a gallon (4·54346 litres) on all spirits distilled in the colony, a duty of two per cent on the interest of all money invested in shares or mortgages, a duty of one and a half per cent on the value of all produce exported, and a duty of five shillings to twenty shillings on every house according to its value. Thereupon the assembly declined to impose any new taxes until the governor would indicate what retrenchment he was willing to effect, and this he refused to do.

Mr. Molteno then proposed to raise the ad valorem duties on imports not specially rated from ten to twelve and a half per cent, and as the governor would not introduce a bill to this effect, the house of assembly passed one, which was, however, thrown out by the legislative council.

At this stage the estimates for the first three months of 1870 were introduced by the government, and were referred by the assembly to a select committee. On the 15th of October the committee reported that the estimates were not in accordance with the resolutions of the house, and they had therefore altered them.

This brought matters to a crisis, and on the 18th of October the governor prorogued the parliament and issued a proclamation dissolving the house of assembly and appealing to the country to decide upon the future form of government. It was necessary, he said, either to increase the power of the executive, which he regarded as the proper course, or to adopt responsible government, which he believed would be most injudicious.

He followed this up by publishing, on the 12th of November, the draft of a bill to amend the constitution. It substituted for the two existing houses of parliament a single legislative council, to consist of a nominated president, four official members to be selected by the governor, and thirty-

two elected members, sixteen for each province. The existing electoral divisions were to be retained, except that Piketberg was to be joined to Malmesbury. The members were to hold their seats for five years.

The question for the colonists to decide by their votes was thus apparently a simple one, but in reality it was complicated by the dissension between the eastern and western provinces, for many of the electors in the eastern districts, though favourably disposed towards self government, were willing to increase the power of the executive rather than subject themselves to a ministry formed by a western parliamentary majority.

During the session of 1869 an act was passed authorising the Cape Copper Mining Company to construct a jetty at Port Nolloth and a railway from that port to Onams at the foot of the mountain range bounding the coast plain. This was intended to facilitate the transport of copper ore over the heavy sand flat between the mountains and the sea, a distance of seventy-seven kilometres or forty-eight miles. In 1871 the company was authorised to extend the line nineteen kilometres or twelve miles farther, winding up the mountain side to the mission station Kookfontein. And in 1873 a further extension of sixty-one kilometres or thirty-eight miles was authorised, making the inland terminus Ookiep, the principal copper mine in the country. The gauge of this railway is only seventy-six centimetres or thirty inches, and some of the gradients in the mountain section are very high, one place being as steep as one in twenty. Its use is almost entirely confined to the transport of ore to the sea and of provisions and other necessities from Port Nolloth to the mines.

In 1869 several disasters occurred in the colony. In February a portion of the districts of Knysna, Humansdorp, and Uitenhage was laid waste by a very destructive fire. The country was parched by drought, when a hot wind set in from the north and continued for some days. The dry brushwood commenced to burn in several places simul-

taneously, and the fire spread rapidly over an extensive belt of country, destroying houses, orchards, and even live stock as it advanced. The Knysna village was only saved by a sudden change of the wind, which coming over the burning district, was as scorchingly hot as the air from a heated furnace. Great damage was done to the forests, which were previously supposed to be proof against a conflagration of this kind.

In October there were heavy floods in the midland districts, by which much loss was caused, especially in the highly cultivated valley of Oudtshoorn. At the town of Beaufort West the great dam which forms a miniature lake, and was then the most important work of its kind in the colony, burst, and the water swept away several houses and stores.

Algoa Bay, though exposed to southeast winds which sometimes blow with the force of gales, had never been the scene of such terribly disastrous shipwrecks as those which have been recorded as occurring during winter storms in Table Bay, but it was not free from occasional losses. On Sunday the 16th of October 1859 six ships were driven ashore there in a storm that during the next ten years was commonly spoken of as the great gale. In 1869 there was another and larger disaster. On Saturday the 18th of September in this year thirteen sea-going vessels were lying at anchor in the roadstead, when a gale of unusual violence arose. Night set in, and the wind increased in strength, while before it the sea was driven in great billows upon the shore. Before dawn one after another ten of the vessels parted their cables and were cast on the beach, though happily all on board escaped with their lives. On Sunday morning the *Sea Snake* parted and struck. A crowd of people gathered as near as they could get, but her position was such that it was impossible to render assistance, and nine of her crew were drowned in the attempt to reach dry land. A steam tug, twelve cargo boats, and two anchor boats were also driven on shore and broken to pieces. Two

only of the sea-going vessels rode out the gale. In the town some damage was done, particularly to the roofs of buildings, but this was not very great, and it was speedily repaired.

The governor's proposal of a retrogressive change in the constitution found no support whatever in the greater part of the colony. Hardly anyone was willing to increase the power of the executive, but there were many who favoured the reduction of parliament to a single chamber by doing away with the legislative council, which they regarded as of little practical use. The interest taken in the elections was keen, and no fewer than twenty-two of the late members lost their seats and were replaced by others.

On the 25th of January parliament was opened by the governor with a speech in which he read portions of a despatch from the secretary of state for the colonies, giving the view of the imperial authorities upon the situation. Earl Granville wrote :

“It becomes necessary, therefore, to bring the executive government and the representative legislature into harmony, either by strengthening the influence of the government over the legislature, or by strengthening the influence of the legislature over the government. But although I have been anxious to give you every opportunity of giving effect to your own views, I have never concurred with you in anticipating that you would be able to frame and carry through the Cape parliament a measure which would give to the government, as at present constituted, such powers as the necessities of the case require. And if the government cannot by some such measure be enabled to command the coöperation of the legislature, it remains that the legislature should be enabled to ensure the coöperation of the government, that is that responsible government should be established in that as in other colonies of equal importance. I have considered the difficulties you point out as likely to arise when such a change is made. But if the colonists will not allow themselves to be governed, —and I am far from blaming them for desiring to manage their own affairs, or from questioning their capacity to do so, which is seldom rightly estimated till it is tried,—it follows that they must adopt the responsibility of governing.

“The policy, therefore, which I shall enjoin on your successor will be that of pointing out to the colonists that in one way or another a change in their constitution is inevitable, and of explaining to them that her Majesty's government look upon the present constitution as an inadequate

and transitional one, which, as they are unable to administer it effectually, they are only content to administer at the desire of the colonists, and until a decision is arrived at as to what change should take place. If the colony shall be ready to repose greater trust than heretofore in the crown and its servants, and to confide to them a larger and more effectual authority, it will be the first endeavour of the new governor to devise such a plan for that purpose as shall be acceptable to the present legislature. If, on the contrary, the colonists shall prefer to assume the responsibility of managing their own affairs, it will be his duty to consider with them, in a spirit of cordial coöperation, the means by which this may be safely and justly effected; what shape the new system of self-government should assume—whether of a single undivided colony, or of a colony divided into semi-independent provinces, or of two or more distinct colonies—is a question which the colonists will no doubt maturely consider, and in which I should wish to be guided by their deliberate conclusions. At present, I think it is undesirable even to indicate an opinion upon it.”

The governor stated his own objections to responsible government, as unsuited to a dependency, and particularly to one with such scanty resources and such a divided population as the Cape Colony; and he therefore submitted the bill that he had published, in the hope that it would be adopted. In view of the reduction of the imperial garrison, he recommended an enlargement of the frontier armed and mounted police. He announced that the strictest economy had been observed in preparing the estimates and that retrenchment had been carried as far as could be done with safety, but that there was still a large deficit in the revenue, and that therefore further taxation could not be avoided.

On the 21st of February Mr. Southey, the colonial secretary, moved the second reading of the bill for altering the constitution. Mr. Philip Watermeyer, one of the members for Richmond, thereupon moved, and Mr. Reitz seconded, that it be read that day six months.

An animated debate followed, which proved that hardly anyone favoured the bill as it stood. There were many members, however, who were prepared to dispense with the legislative council, and who were willing to vote for the second reading, with the intention of altering the bill in

committee by rejecting the official element and increasing the number of elected members. The majority, led by Mr. Molteno, objected to this, on the ground that by doing so the principle of the bill, that is the increasing the power of the executive government and diminishing that of the parliament, would be approved. The debate was continued until the 24th, when the bill was thrown out by thirty-four votes against twenty-six.

Those against it altogether were Messrs. Adams, Botha, Bowker, P. A. Brand, van Breda, Burger, Duckitt, Gush, Human, Keyter, Louw, Meiring, Molteno, Moodie, Pearson, Pentz, Porter, Prince, Proctor, Reitz, van Rhyn, Scanlen, Scheepers, Shawe, Slater, Solomon, D. Tennant, J. H. Tennant, Theunissen, Versfeld, de Villiers, Watermeyer, J. A. de Wet, and Ziervogel.

Those who voted for the second reading, and who were either prepared to accept the bill as it stood or wished to amend it in committee, were Messrs. Ayliff, Barrington, J. H. Brown, G. Brown, van der Byl, Clough, Darnell, Distin, Eustace, Foster, Goold, Hemming, King, Knight, Loxton, Manuel, Merriman, Quin, Rice, Rorke, Smith, Stigant, Thompson, J. P. de Wet, Wollaston, and Wright. Of these, eighteen members represented eastern province and eight western province constituencies.

An attempt of the government to place a number of offices on the reserved schedules, and thus to remove the salaries attached to them from parliamentary control, met with such determined opposition that it had to be abandoned. Several taxing bills were introduced, but most of them were thrown out. It was admitted by parliament, however, that an increase of revenue was necessary, for the deficit could no longer be made good by loans. A house duty act was therefore passed, under which five shillings a year was to be paid on every house under the value of £100, ten shillings on every house from £100 to £500 in value, twenty shillings on every house from £500 to £1,000 in value, and ten shillings additional for every £500 or fraction of £500

above £1,000. This act was to be in force for three years. The stamp act was also amended to make it more productive.

The public debt of the colony payable in England at this time amounted to £1,423,400, which had been contracted for the following purposes: improvement of Table Bay £250,000, of Port Alfred £76,500, of Port Elizabeth £58,500, of Mossel Bay £8,000, for immigration £75,000, and to meet deficiencies of revenue £955,400. Provision was made for paying £50,000 of this at once, and an act was passed to consolidate the remainder. The interest was fixed at five per cent per annum, and an amount of £90,000 minus the interest was to be redeemed yearly, so that the whole should be paid off in thirty-seven years.

On the 5th of May parliament was prorogued, and on the 20th of the same month the connection of Sir Philip Wodehouse with South Africa came to an end. He sailed in the mail steamer *Briton* for England, unregretted by the colonists as a governor, on account of his want of tact and opposition to the spirit of the time, though respected as an upright and benevolent man. Of the usual addresses presented to a governor at the close of his administration but one was handed to him—from the bishop and clergy of the English episcopal church,—as people did not wish to express sentiments that they did not feel. Some time after his return to England he was appointed governor of Bombay, and on the 2nd of May 1872 assumed duty there. For an Indian administrator he was admirably adapted, and in that capacity he remained until 1877, when at the age of sixty-six years he retired from public life.

Upon his departure from the Cape, Lieutenant-General Charles Craufurd Hay, who since the 25th of January 1869 had held a commission as lieutenant-governor, assumed the duty of administrator of the government, and was shortly afterwards appointed high commissioner also. The most important event during the seven months that he was at the head of affairs was the dispute with the government of the Orange Free State concerning the claim of Mr. David Arnot,

in the name of the Griqua captain Nicholas Waterboer, to the ownership of the territory in which diamonds had been discovered, and where many thousands of diggers were then seeking for wealth, which is fully related in another chapter.

The fiftieth anniversary of the arrival of the British settlers of 1820 was celebrated in Grahamstown with great heartiness. Tuesday the 24th of May being the queen's birthday, and Thursday the 26th being ascension day, were public holidays. Monday the 23rd and Wednesday the 25th were added by proclamation, so that the jubilee might be observed in as becoming a manner as the importance of the event commemorated deserved to be. These settlers, what difficulties had they not overcome during those fifty years in building up the prosperity of their part of the eastern province! They had passed through three wars with the Xosas and Tembus, in each of which a large portion of Albany had been laid waste, they had experienced all the vicissitudes of farming life in South Africa,—droughts, floods, blights, cattle diseases, and other evils, were familiar to them,—and yet at the end of half a century they could say with pride that no other body of men and women of equal number had ever left the shores of England and prospered more than they. There were processions, and feasts, and thanksgiving services in the many churches they had built, and a very creditable show of the products of Albany and the handiwork of Grahamstown.

A memorial tower, for which £1,400 was subscribed and paid to a committee, was also planned, and the foundation stone was laid with much ceremony by the honourable Robert Godlonton. The work of construction, however, was not carried out for several years. In 1877 the municipal council resolved to build a handsome town hall, at a cost of £17,000, and it was arranged that the memorial tower should form part of the design. The building—including the tower—was completed in 1881, and contains the municipal offices, a large hall used for lectures, concerts,

and public meetings, the public library, which occupies nearly half the building, and a fine art gallery.

The docks in Table Bay were so far advanced that they could be used by shipping, and on the 17th of May 1870 they were opened by proclamation without any ceremony. On the 21st of June the *Galatea* arrived in Simon's Bay from Ceylon, and the duke of Edinburgh,* who commanded her, was requested to open them formally. This he did on the 11th of July with the observances customary on such occasions, when they were officially named the Alfred docks. On the 14th of July the *Galatea* left for Australia.

In the session of 1869 provision was made by parliament for the purchase by the government of the property of the Kowie Harbour Improvement Company, and the transfer of the works at Port Alfred. This was done as the only means of preserving the piers partly constructed and of completing them, for the company had been obliged to cease its operations through want of funds. The government had already contributed £76,500 towards the work. In 1868 Sir John Coode was requested to furnish plans for the improvement of the ports of East London, the Kowie, and Algoa Bay, and he had sent Mr. Neate, a marine engineer, to survey those places. Mr. Neate arrived in November 1868, and at once commenced his work, so that in April 1870 plans and estimates for the construction of harbours at the three places named were received from Sir John Coode. The government paid the debts of the Kowie Harbour Improvement Company, amounting to £25,000, and in return received transfer of all its rights. On the 1st of July 1870 the company was dissolved by proclamation, and the harbour works at Port Alfred became the property of the colony. Since that date large sums of money have been expended upon them, but the depth of water on the bar has not been so much increased as to admit of the

* This was the fourth visit of his royal highness to South Africa. The third occasion was in December 1868, when he was here for a few days in the *Galatea*.

entrance of vessels of heavy burden, and the port is now practically abandoned.

For some time past experiments had been made in the cultivation of silk, flax, and cotton, and it had been confidently anticipated by many persons that the last of these articles would soon become a prominent item in the list of colonial exports.

The production of silk was tried in both provinces, but particularly at Stellenbosch. Excellent samples were obtained, but it was found that the worms often died off suddenly, and the returns were so small compared with the care and labour required that the experiments were soon abandoned.

In favourable seasons flax was found to thrive well in particular localities in the east, and several fields promised an excellent return. But it could not be depended upon in general, and in small quantities it could not find purchasers. It too was therefore abandoned after a fair trial.

Cotton was tried by many of the enterprising farmers of the south-eastern districts. In some localities it grew luxuriantly, though the bolls did not always attain maturity. In 1867 two hundred and eighteen kilogrammes or four hundred and eighty pounds were exported, in 1868 four hundred and ninety-five kilogrammes or one thousand and ninety-two pounds, in 1869 six hundred and eighty-one kilogrammes or one thousand five hundred and one pounds, in 1870 eight hundred and seventy-five kilogrammes or one thousand nine hundred and twenty-eight pounds, and in 1871 eleven thousand three hundred and thirty-five kilogrammes or twenty-four thousand nine hundred and ninety pounds. Some was also used in the colony for various purposes. In a show of cotton in King-Williamstown in 1871 one hundred and sixty bales were exhibited, which contained thirty-one thousand seven hundred and fifty-one kilogrammes or seventy thousand pounds. In a show at the same place in 1872 ninety-one bales, containing fifteen thousand and fifty kilogrammes or thirty-three thousand one hundred and eighty-one pounds of unginned cotton, were exhibited. It was sold by

auction, and realised from 21 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. to 25 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. a pound. In Grahams-town at the same time (August 1872) one hundred and seventy-two bales, containing thirty-eight thousand four hundred and twenty-eight kilogrammes or eighty-four thousand seven hundred and nineteen pounds, were exhibited. This was grown chiefly in the districts of Albany and Peddie, and thirty bales of it were ginned.

But the price of cotton at that time was so low in England that it could only have paid colonial farmers to produce it under the most favourable circumstances, and labourers were almost unobtainable, owing to the high rate of wages at the diamond fields. In the picking season the blacks were not to be depended upon, no matter what pay was offered, and in some instances crops were entirely, or almost entirely, lost. The planters became discouraged, and shortly the attempt to grow cotton for exportation ceased.

A change in the seasons had now set in, and after the long years of drought, varied occasionally by destructive storms of wind and rain, the upper terraces were once more clothed with verdure. The benefit to the country was enormous, for not only could crops be put in the ground, but the emaciated animals that remained alive soon became fat and thriving. If the change in the appearance of the grazing districts was astonishing, not less so was the change in the spirits of those who depended for their living upon horned cattle and sheep. To them the alteration in the seasons turned despondency into cheerfulness, to an extent that can only be realised in a country where long drought makes the ground like iron and the sky like brass.

CHAPTER LXVIII.

SIR HENRY BARKLY, GOVERNOR AND HIGH COMMISSIONER,
ASSUMED DUTY 31ST OF DECEMBER 1870.

SIR PHILIP WODEHOUSE'S successor was a man of no greater natural ability, but he was in sympathy with the aspirations of the majority of the colonists, who favoured self-government, and consequently he was more popular and more successful. He had been governor of British Guiana, Jamaica, Victoria, and Mauritius, and was therefore a man of wide experience. On the 31st of December 1870 he arrived in the mail steamer *Norseman*, with his lady and a daughter, and at once took the oaths of office.

A wave of prosperity resulting from the discovery of diamonds in great numbers and the change for the better in the seasons had already commenced to set in, so that the people were less discontented and less prone to faultfinding than they had been in previous years. The revenue was increasing rapidly, and not only was retrenchment of expenditure no longer regarded as imperative, but large public works could be taken in hand.

As soon as arrangements could be made, the governor left Capetown for a long tour, in which he visited the diamond fields, Bloemfontein, and Basutoland, passed through Aliwal North, Burghersdorp, and Queenstown, to King-Williamstown, and then through Grahamstown to Port Elizabeth on his return. He reached Capetown again in time to open parliament on the 27th of April 1871 with a speech in which the cheering information was given that the revenue of 1870 had exceeded the expenditure by £35,518.

After referring to the condition of the diamond fields, Basutoland, and the Transkeian territories, and recommending measures for the prevention of cattle stealing by the Xosas within the colony, the governor made the following remarks upon the political question of the day:

“I could not but observe with regret, during my progress through the eastern portion of the colony, the existence of a deep-rooted feeling that their special interests were not likely to receive due consideration so long as the seat of government remained fixed at Capetown.

“This feeling, as you are aware, found fresh vent a few months since in a memorial addressed to the earl of Kimberley, as secretary of state for the colonial department, praying that I might be instructed on my arrival to give the subject of the removal of the seat of government to some place in the eastern districts my immediate and impartial consideration.*

“Accordingly, in the despatch addressed to me by his Lordship before I started, calling my attention to some of the prominent questions with which I should have to deal, this subject is adverted to, and a suggestion thrown out that in order to obviate all ground of agitation for such removal, the local authorities should be invested with a greater share of legislative and administrative power; the carefully considered constitution of the Dominion of Canada being referred to as presenting a model for the solution of the difficulty.

“The reference thus made must be held to imply not merely a recommendation that the colony should be divided into federated provinces, but that some system of responsible government should be established in each, for it will be found from the despatch itself, which I lay before you in extenso, that the present secretary of state for the colonies fully adopts the views expressed by his predecessor, Earl Granville, as to the anomalous constitution of the colonial legislature, and considers the rejection of the proposal made by Sir Philip Wodehouse last session for a single legislative chamber as affording all the stronger reason why those who refused to acquiesce in that measure should now support the alternative course.

“The attempt to introduce a certain modicum only of parliamentary government into this colony seems indeed to be regarded on all hands as a failure. The experiment has now been tried for nearly seventeen years, during the existence of nearly five different parliaments, and under the auspices of two administrators of remarkable energy and ability, yet of widely different temperaments; and it has been found, so far as I can judge, to work inharmoniously and unsatisfactorily, alike to the governing and to the governed.

* The memorial referred to was signed by eight hundred British settlers and their descendants.

“Be this as it may, it is clearly necessary at the present moment, if a progressive policy is to be pursued, that the executive government should be endowed with more extensive powers and greater liberty of action ; and if the question, whether this should be accomplished by retracing the steps taken in 1854, and restoring the authority of the crown, has been definitely decided in the negative, it is not easy to perceive what other feasible course remains open save to carry the system of parliamentary government to its natural and legitimate consequences, by rendering the executive responsible through the medium of its principal officers to the legislature, and thus enabling it, so long as these retain the confidence of that body, to shape the course of public business, and act promptly and efficiently whenever the necessity arises, in anticipation of subsequent approval.

“As to the formation of separate provincial governments, this might be advantageous if combined with a strong domestic administration centrally situated in South Africa, but it is obvious that no such system of federal union could be maintained unless each of the states composing it were equally independent of extraneous control. In other words, self-government should precede federation ; and not for this reason only, but to prevent the difficulties and risks of failure which any attempt to carry out simultaneously two such great political changes would inevitably entail.

“As a matter of fact it has had priority in the case both of the North American and Australian colonies ; nor should it be forgotten here, in connection with the former, that Upper and Lower Canada, differing widely as their respective populations have ever done in race, language, and mode of thought, grew up into a strong and prosperous state, ruled for the most part by coalition ministries long before they lately resolved themselves in separate provinces with a view to admission into the powerful confederacy which now constitutes the dominion.

“You may rely upon it, however, that in recommending the application of principles under which these great groups of colonies have made and are making such wonderful and gratifying progress, the imperial government are neither insensible to the obstacles which seem likely to beset the operation of those principles here, nor desirous of driving the Cape colonists into the adoption of institutions for the successful working of which they feel themselves unfitted.

“If any amendment on the present unsatisfactory mode of administration better adapted to the peculiar circumstances of South Africa than responsible government can be devised, or if there be any intermediate stage in their progress towards that form of government at which the colonists would wish for a time to halt, I am confident that whatever doubts her Majesty’s present advisers might entertain as to the probable results of the scheme, no opposition whatever would be offered to its receiving a fair trial.

“It rests, in fact, with the colonists alone at the present juncture to judge for themselves what reforms in the constitution shall be effected ;

and I will only add that I await the upshot of your deliberations as their representatives, fully prepared to afford any assistance in my power in carrying out the views at which the majority may see fit to arrive."

The opinions expressed in the paragraphs quoted above were those of the governor himself, and were at variance with those held by the members of the executive council, all of whom were opposed to the introduction of responsible government. On learning the nature of the speech intended to be made, they drew up their objections in writing, with a view to the documents being forwarded to the imperial authorities.

The attorney-general, Mr. W. D. Griffith, based his first objection upon the large coloured population, who were entitled to the franchise, and some of whom actually availed themselves of it under the instigation of persons of European race. That as a general rule they had not made use of their privileges could not, he thought, be reckoned on as a fact likely to continue. If government by parliamentary majorities were introduced, they would very soon be taught by interested persons that they were entitled to the franchise, and their votes would be obtained for one purpose or another. When they once began generally to use their votes, it would simply be impossible to govern them.

His next objection arose from the condition of the white population, which he divided into two main classes, the English immigrants and their descendants and those of Dutch descent. The latter, who were in a large majority, were for the most part ignorant of the English language, and entertained strong prejudices against English institutions. He might have added, but he did not, that the prejudices of the former class in the opposite direction were at least equally as strong. No alteration of the franchise, he observed correctly, could meet the difficulties created by these circumstances.

Then the colony was sparsely inhabited, and its people were for the most part uneducated. As a consequence, there

would be a scramble for office among a very few individuals who would embrace politics as a trade, for there were practically no men in the colony of leisure and independence.

The constitution of the two houses of parliament formed another objection, for one was as representative as the other, and neither had control over the other. In which was to be the necessary majority to maintain a ministry, and what would result if an opposing majority should exist in the other.

The condition of the diamond fields and of Basutoland was also to be considered. If the diamond fields were to be annexed to the Cape Colony, that should be effected before a change in the form of government took place, in order that the people there might also have a voice in deciding the matter. The Basuto had requested to be brought under the queen's government, not under that of a colonial ministry, and such a change as the one proposed would excite great dissatisfaction in their minds, and would not improbably be the cause of future wars.

The other members of the executive council, Mr. R. Southey, colonial secretary, Mr. J. C. Davidson, treasurer-general, Mr. E. M. Cole, auditor-general, and Mr. R. Graham, collector of customs, drew up jointly a document in which they expressed their opinions. They regarded any failure that had occurred in the working of the existing form of government as referable in great part to circumstances which might be specified as applying much more strongly to the proposed form of government by parliamentary majority, such as the sparseness of the population, the preponderance of the coloured races, want of education, diversities of race and language among the white inhabitants, want of public opinion, difficulties of communication, and inability of the best informed and most competent colonists to leave their homes and avocations to take part in public affairs without ruin to their private interests.

They held that one cause of the unsatisfactory working of the existing form of government was undoubtedly the

want of sufficient influence by the executive upon the representative branches of the legislature. They referred to some of the disadvantages under which the executive had laboured in this respect. There were two houses, of coördinate authority, to both of which every measure had to be submitted through all its stages, precisely as in the imperial legislature. Their modes and forms of procedure had in all respects been closely copied from those of the imperial parliament. They were assembled, and sat simultaneously through protracted sessions. It had come to be expected that the four members of the executive who possessed the privilege of attending the houses, but were never in any sense intended to be members, should, at least some of them, give constant attendance in both houses, and not only conduct the measures of the government, but deal with the numerous objections and questions, and discuss the measures introduced by the members themselves. Ministerial and parliamentary functions had thus become imposed upon three or four members of the colonial executive, in addition to their ordinary and constant administrative duties, without any provision for meeting them.

Harmonious action between the parliament and the executive, in the conduct of the public business and legislation, had undoubtedly been impeded of late years by the insufficiency of the revenue to meet needful expenditure, and the contentions naturally springing from the necessary measures for increase of taxation which the government had from time to time been compelled to propose. It might, however, now be hoped that the returning prosperity of the colony and the increasing public revenue would remove this prolific cause of painful discussion and difference.

The provision made for the representation of the executive having been so far short of the test now applied, they thought it could scarcely be held that the possibilities of satisfactory government under the existing constitution had been exhausted, or that they had even had a fair trial; for it could not be doubted that if government by parliamentary

majority were introduced, one of its first necessities would be a considerable numerical increase to the executive, both in and out of parliament, and the introduction of departmental responsibility. This was equally practicable with the existing form of government, and was in their opinion essential to the successful working of any form of representative government.

They observed that the direction in which measures should be taken to overcome or remove the deficiencies which seventeen years of not altogether unsuccessful working of the existing constitution had disclosed could not be gathered from the previous action of the legislature; for while, on the one hand, it had on one occasion declined to adopt the simple form of legislature proposed by Sir Philip Wodehouse, it had equally, on the other hand, on several occasions declined to adopt the principle of government by parliamentary majority. But they submitted that, whatever the opinions or action of either house of parliament from time to time might have been or might still be on this question, the colonial legislature was not, in the actual circumstances of the country, the tribunal by which such an issue should be decided; and that the question should be considered and acted upon by her Majesty's government upon its own responsibility in reference to the fitness or unfitness of the colony for so momentous a change.

They then entered into details concerning the sparseness of the population; the numerical preponderance of the coloured people, showing that fully two-thirds of the inhabitants were still in a state of barbarism or semi-barbarism, pointing out the danger of these people becoming masters of the situation owing to the low qualification for the franchise—the occupation of fixed property of the total (not annual) value of £25;—the want of education; the diversity of race, ideas, habits, and language of the European inhabitants; the feelings of antagonism between the white and coloured people, particularly in the frontier districts; the absence of public opinion, which would lead to instability

of legislation and policy; the want of men possessing the requisite qualifications to hold offices in a responsible ministry; and the existence of two elective houses of coördinate functions and authority, in both of which the majority essential to the existence of a ministry would seldom be found.

They submitted that the facts and considerations they had adduced showed that the colony was wholly unfit for the proposed change in its form of government; and further, that the dangers to be apprehended from the premature attempt thus to get rid of very minor difficulties attending the working of the constitution then in force were too momentous to be risked upon the decision of the existing legislature.

They deprecated any change which would reduce the influence of the crown in the colony, which they regarded as the chief bond by which its heterogeneous elements were held together. To surrender this restraining influence would, they believed, lead to disturbance and strife of races within and without the colony, annihilate English interests, and looking upon the colony as the chief standpoint for the spread of peace and progress in South Africa, would hopelessly throw back the civilisation of a large area of the continent.

Holding these views, the members of the executive council who were entitled to take part in debates in parliament considered it their duty not to oppose the governor, but to abstain from joining in discussions that might arise respecting responsible government, and to leave the decision to the unbiassed votes of the elected representatives of the people.

The party in the house of assembly that was in favour of the introduction of responsible government waited until all the eastern members had arrived before taking any action. They were tolerably certain of success, especially as no opposition was now to be feared from the imperial authorities, and they desired a thorough discussion of the question on its own merits. On the 1st of June Mr. Molteno, member for

Beaufort West, moved, and Mr. Watermeyer, member for Richmond, seconded :

"That this house is of opinion that the time has come when the system of parliamentary government in this colony should be carried to its natural and legitimate consequence, by rendering the executive responsible, through the medium of its principal officers, to the legislature, and thus enabling it, so long as these retain the confidence of that body, to shape the course of public business. And as it may be expedient that the colony should be divided into three or more provincial governments for the management of their own domestic affairs, formed into a federative union, under a general government, for the management of affairs affecting the interests and relations of the united colony, this house is of opinion that his Excellency the governor should be requested, by respectful address, to appoint a commission to inquire into and report upon the expediency of such provincial governments, with the federation thereof, and, if deemed expedient, to inquire into and report upon the arrangements which may be necessary for their introduction and establishment."

In this motion two distinct subjects were referred to. One, the introduction of responsible government, was to have immediate effect, the other, the desirability of federation, was merely to be inquired into and reported upon, with a view to the possible adoption of the system at some future time. The word federation was then commonly used to signify the union for general purposes of several provinces with local legislatures into which the settlement was first to be divided, not the union under one central government of the Cape Colony, Natal, the Orange Free State, and the South African Republic, unless those colonies and states were specially mentioned. Such a change in the form of government of the Cape Colony was advocated almost exclusively by the descendants of the British settlers in the eastern province; the later English immigrants and practically the whole of the Dutch speaking colonists either caring little about it one way or the other or opposing it on the ground of the increased expense that it would necessarily entail. The position which the descendants of the British settlers of 1820 had attained in the colony can therefore be accurately gauged by the importance attached to this question.

As an amendment to Mr. Molteno's motion, Mr. C. A. Smith, member for King-Williamstown, proposed, and Mr. J. T. Eustace, member for Capetown, seconded :

"1. That this house, without disputing the principle that responsible or party government is the natural consequent of representative institutions, cannot shut its eyes to the fact that there exists, especially in the eastern province, a strong feeling of opposition to its immediate introduction into this colony.

"2. That in the opinion of this house, it is but just and expedient, under the peculiar circumstances of this colony, that before effecting so important and radical a change in the constitution, a competent commission, fairly representing the entire colony, should be appointed to consider and report upon this question in all its bearings, and especially whether it would not be practicable and more consistent with the wants and wishes of a large portion of the inhabitants of the colony, that some system of federative and local government should precede, or at least be simultaneous with, the introduction of responsible government.

"3. That this house, therefore, by respectful address, request that his Excellency the governor will be pleased to appoint such a commission, with an instruction to terminate its labours in time to enable action to be taken on its report during the next session of parliament."

The debate upon the question of the introduction of responsible government was carried on with much earnestness on both sides, all the old objections being urged again by the opponents of the measure and replied to by those in favour of it.

There was first the important question of the coloured population, which was double that of the European residents in the colony. These people were entitled to the franchise on the same terms as white men, and most of them were absolute barbarians without any conception of what representative government implied. They would be made the sport of party leaders, and anything like justice or high civilisation would become impossible. Or, if this should not happen, the attempt to rule them by white men with strong prejudices must result in war.

To this it was replied that the blacks would be no more subject to party influence than they were already, and that colonists, whose interest it was to avoid war, would be far

more likely to govern them wisely and justly than officials responsible only to the authorities in England.

Next, there was not a sufficient number of men in the colony of talent and wealth to form ministries under a system where tenure of office would be precarious.

Reply. That could not be known until it was tried. The occasion would probably produce the men, and in any case they would soon be trained, which they could not be in advance.

Of the European electors there were many more of Dutch than of English descent. Would the British settlers consent to be ruled by a ministry chosen by a Dutch majority?

Reply. All were colonists, and the interests of all were the same. There was nothing to fear from a Dutch majority, and it was hardly conceivable that any question should arise in which the electors would be divided on purely racial lines. Would the British settlers object to party government if they were in the majority and the Dutch in the minority? Responsible government would be the means of bringing them closely together and causing them to respect each other and work in unison for the common good.

The eastern province, having fewer representatives and being far from the seat of government, would be at the mercy of the west.

Reply. No ministry in which the east was not fairly represented could exist over a single session.

Responsible government would be accompanied by corruption and plunder. A ministry in office would not hesitate to purchase support to retain its position.

Reply. There was no greater likelihood of corruption of that kind under responsible government than under the existing system, and at any rate the ministers, holding their seats as long as a majority in parliament chose to support them, would be careful not to expose themselves to be called to account for their conduct.

The arrangement of matters relating to the Bantu in the Transkeian territory and in Basutoland had been carried out

by the high commissioner under instructions from the imperial authorities, without reference to the colonial parliament, and Great Britain was thus responsible for the defence of the frontier. If responsible government was adopted, that burden would to a certainty be thrown upon the colony.

Reply. Whether responsible government was adopted, or whether the existing system remained in force, would make no difference whatever in that respect. The imperial troops in South Africa had already been greatly reduced in number, and there was no hope of their being increased again. In any case the colony would have to protect its frontiers, and it was therefore better that the policy to be pursued towards the Bantu in future should be directed by those upon whom the burden of defence would fall.

Lastly, the provinces should first be separated and each provided with a local government, when a federal administration for general purposes might be adopted under the responsible system.

Reply. Responsible government should first be adopted, and then the question of separation into two, three, or more provinces, to be followed by federation, could be more satisfactorily settled.

Mr. (afterwards Sir) T. C. Scanlen, one of the members for Cradock, brought forward a motion "that it is expedient that the colony should be divided into three or more provincial governments for the management of their own domestic affairs," but it was rejected.

Mr. Smith's amendment was then put, and was lost by thirty-two votes against twenty-five.

Mr. Molteno's original motion was carried on the 9th of June by thirty-one votes against twenty-six, twelve eastern province members voting with the majority. The last clause had, however, been modified in the hope of conciliating the eastern members, and now read: "And as it is expedient that the colony should be divided into three or more provincial governments for the management of their own domestic affairs, formed into a federative union under a

general government for the management of affairs affecting the interest and relations of the united colony, this house is of opinion that his Excellency the governor should be requested, by respectful address, to appoint a commission to inquire into and report upon the arrangements which may be necessary for the introduction and establishment of such provincial governments, with the federation thereof."

On the following day the governor was requested to submit a bill to effect the necessary change in the constitution, which he consented to do without any delay. Mr. Griffith, the attorney-general, expressed a desire that he should not be called upon to frame the bill, as he disapproved of the measure, so the governor applied to Mr. Porter, the retired attorney-general, who was then one of the members for Capetown. That gentleman drew up a bill, which was introduced in the house of assembly and read the first time on the 15th of June. It provided for the creation of two new heads of departments, one to be termed the commissioner of crown lands and public works, the other the secretary for native affairs. The colonial secretary, the treasurer, the attorney-general, the commissioner of crown lands and public works, and the secretary for native affairs could be elected as members of either the house of assembly or the legislative council, and could take part in debates in both houses, but each could only vote in the one of which he was a member. It was not to be absolutely necessary that every one of these officials should be a member of parliament at the time of his appointment, a provision that was made in case there should not be in either house an individual specially qualified for any of the offices at the time of the formation of a ministry. The salaries of the ministers were fixed, that of the colonial secretary at £1,200, and that of each of the others at £1,000 a year. They were not to be entitled to pensions upon retiring from office.

On the 30th of June Mr. Molteno moved the second reading of the bill, and an animated debate followed, in

which the same arguments for and against were used as already given.

On the 5th of July the voting took place on an amendment that the bill be read that day six months. For this there were twenty-eight votes, and thirty-four were given against it. The division showed the responsible government party to be strongest comparatively in the midland districts, to be nearly twice as strong as its opponents in the west, and to be almost non-existent in the east. The western districts gave twenty-one votes for it, and eleven against, namely for responsible government Beaufort West, Malmesbury, Paarl, Piketberg, Victoria West, and Worcester, each both votes; Caledon, Clanwilliam, George, Oudtshoorn, Riversdale, each one vote for and one against, Capetown two votes for and two against, Stellenbosch one vote for, the other member for this division being the speaker, the Cape division two votes against, and Namaqualand one vote against, the other member for this division being absent.

The midland districts gave twelve votes for responsible government, and only two against, namely for responsible government Colesberg, Cradock, Graaff-Reinet, Richmond, and Somerset East, each both votes; Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage, each one vote for and one against.

The eastern districts gave but one vote for responsible government, and fifteen against it, namely against responsible government Albany, Albert, Aliwal North, Fort Beaufort, Grahamstown, and Victoria East, each both votes; East London and Queenstown, each one vote, the other members for these divisions not being present; and King-Williamstown one vote against and one vote for it.

Mr. Molteno's motion was carried without a division, and the bill then passed into the committee stage, when the opponents of responsible government left the house, so that it went through at once without any alterations of importance. On the 12th of July it passed the third reading without a division, and on the 14th was read the first time in the legislative council. This house had not been dis-

solved by Sir Philip Wodehouse when he appealed to the colony to decide upon the form of government, and its members had not been specially returned on that issue.

The question was hotly debated, and on the 21st of July when the bill came on for the second reading it was thrown out by twelve votes against nine. Of the members in its favour, seven represented the western province—the honourable Messrs. John Barry, Dr. F. L. C. Biecard, J. A. van der Byl, G. J. de Korte, M. L. Neethling, J. Vintcent, and Dr. H. White,—and two the eastern province—the honourable Messrs. C. L. Stretch and F. K. Te Water. Of the twelve members opposed to it, eight represented the eastern province—the honourable Messrs. S. Cawood, J. C. Chase, W. Fleming, R. Godlonton, J. C. Hoole, D. K. Kennelly, P. W. Scholtz, and G. Wood,—and four the western province—the honourable Dr. J. M. Hiddingh, and Messrs. P. E. de Roubaix, W. A. J. de Smidt, and H. T. Vigne.

The rejection of the bill by the legislative council was learnt with regret by the secretary of state for the colonies, who wrote, however, that at the same time it was satisfactory that the measure had received so considerable an amount of support, and he did not doubt that before long responsible government would supersede the existing anomalous system.

In accordance with the request of the house of assembly, on the 24th of June the governor appointed a commission, consisting of the honourable Robert Godlonton, Petrus Emanuel de Roubaix, and John Centlivres Chase, members of the legislative council, and Messrs. Jeremias Frederik Ziervogel, John Charles Molteno, Charles Abercrombie Smith, and John Henry de Villiers, members of the house of assembly, to inquire into and report upon the question of federation, and in connection therewith:

“1. Whether the good government of the entire colony would not be facilitated, and the contentment and progress of certain portions thereof promoted, by its division into provinces, each province having its own legislature, to legislate for local and private purposes only.

"2. If so, into how many provinces should the colony be divided, and of which of the present electoral divisions, or parts of electoral divisions, or other territories, should each province consist?

"3. Whether the model presented by the dominion of Canada should be followed, the constitution of the colonial parliament and provincial legislatures, and their relative powers and functions, being in all respects the same as provided by the imperial act of 30th Victoria, cap. 3?

"4. If not, what the constitution of the provincial legislatures should be? Whether they should be composed of two chambers, or of one only? What the qualifications of electors and members respectively?

"5. Whether the colonial parliament should continue to be convenable as provided in the constitution ordinance of 1852, and at what towns or places the legislature of each province should meet?

"6. If the distribution of legislative powers set forth in the sixth part of the imperial act of 30th Victoria, cap. 3, be not followed, what subjects should be specially withdrawn from the legislative power of the provincial legislatures and reserved for the colonial parliament? Should the borrowing of money for the execution of public works within any particular province be on the credit of the colony or of the province, and what apportionment should be made of the debts or liabilities already incurred, both for public works as well as for general colonial purposes?

"7. Ought the colonial parliament to possess the power of rescinding or amending the acts of the provincial legislatures, especially such as it may consider to have been passed *ultra vires*?

"8. Whether it will be necessary that the crown should be represented in each province by some functionary resident therein? If so, what should be his powers and duties, and how should he be appointed and designated?

"9. Supposing such a functionary to be necessary, should he be assisted by a local executive council? If so, of whom should it be composed? And should its members be removable on losing the confidence of the provincial legislature under the system commonly called responsible government?

"10. Should the governor of the colony, acting with the advice of his executive council, have any, and if so, what power to direct the provincial executive to adopt any measure which he may regard as expedient for the general welfare? Or should such governor in council have power to rescind or amend such acts of the provincial executive as he may consider prejudicial to the colony at large?

"11. What would be the probable expenditure requisite for the support of each provincial government, stating the estimated items in detail?

"12. What would be the probable amount of revenue at the disposal of each provincial government?"

Mr. Molteno being obliged to resign on account of ill health, Mr. William Porter, formerly attorney-general and now member of the house of assembly for Capetown, was appointed in his stead. The commission issued circulars to all the divisional and municipal councils and to one hundred and sixty-eight prominent private individuals, requesting them to state their views; and they also took a good deal of verbal evidence. Only sixteen out of forty-seven divisional councils, three municipal councils out of thirty-two, and thirty-two out of the hundred and sixty-eight private individuals took the trouble to reply, showing that interest in the question, especially in the western districts, was by no means widespread; and the opinions given were most conflicting. The midland districts, that is the western part of the eastern province, in which—except at Port Elizabeth—Dutch speaking colonists were in the majority, objected strongly to any change that would bring them under a Grahamstown government, but were not unwilling to be formed into a distinct province themselves. King-Williamstown and East London also preferred to let things remain as they were rather than form part of a province with Grahamstown as its capital, Grahamstown objected to the midland districts being constituted a separate government, in short, the views and interests of every place in the east seemed opposed to the views and interests of every other place.

On the 23rd of March 1872 the commission sent in a report in which they stated that they were unable to agree among themselves or to reconcile the different views expressed; but the majority of the members proposed for consideration the draft of a bill by which the powers and functions of the existing parliament should be preserved intact, and that if divided into provinces at all, the colony should be divided into three, each with an assembly for the control of purely local matters. In that case each province should elect seven members of the legislative council, and the house of assembly should remain unchanged.

Very little interest was taken in the matter by the general public in the west, or even in the midland districts. The British settlers who had been warm advocates of it, in the hope that it would lead to the eastern province intact being constituted a separate government, finding it impossible to carry that measure, had no wish to press the subject further until a more favourable opportunity should occur. It was therefore allowed to pass out of notice in the shade of the important change that was then taking place.

In the session of parliament in 1871 a new district on the north-eastern border of the colony, formed of parts of the divisions of Aliwal North, Albert, and Queenstown, to which on the 5th of January the name Wodehouse had been given by proclamation, was constituted a fiscal division. A civil commissioner and resident magistrate was appointed, and was directed to hold his court at Dordrecht, a village founded in 1857.

An act was passed for raising by loan a sum of £100,000 at five per cent yearly interest, upon security of the colonial revenue, to improve the harbour of East London according to the plans of Sir John Coode, but not more than £15,000 was to be raised in any year. Wharfage dues were to be levied to reimburse the treasury wholly or partly for this expenditure. The design of the works was to narrow the mouth of the river by means of training walls, in order to increase the scouring force of the tide setting out and so to clear away the bar, and an outer breakwater was to be constructed to prevent the sand being thrown back again. While the survey by Mr. Neate was being made, there was a heavy fall of rain, which caused such a flood in the river that the bar was partly washed away, and it was evident that if the sand could be kept out a safe and commodious harbour, with a depth of water of twenty-five feet or 7·62 metres at low tide, would be open to shipping. In December 1871 a large gang of convicts commenced the lengthening of the training walls partly constructed years before, and under the direction and superintendence of Mr. Lester, a marine engineer sent

out by Sir John Coode, the work progressed until the harbour of East London became, what it is to-day, a place where sailing ships and large ocean steamers can discharge and take in cargo almost as securely and easily as in any dock in the world.

An act was also passed to incorporate a company that some merchants of Port Elizabeth proposed to form, with a capital of £75,000, to construct a line of railway and telegraph from Port Elizabeth to Uitenhage. The government reserved the right of constructing the first seven miles, or 11·3 kilometres, from Port Elizabeth to the Zwartkops river, as that section would form part of any trunk line that it might thereafter be decided to lay down towards the interior. The sum of £30,000 was voted by parliament for this purpose. On the 9th of January 1872 the first sod of the Uitenhage branch was turned by Sir Henry Barkly at Rawson bridge with the usual ceremony. It had been anticipated that Kaffir labourers could be obtained to perform the rough work at 1s. 6d. a day, and on this basis the calculations as to cost were made. But it was found that such cheap labour was not to be had, and even when 2s. 3d. a day was offered the supply was insufficient. There was further much delay in obtaining materials from England, so that progress in both sections of the work was very slow. In 1874 parliament authorised the government to purchase the property of the Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage railway company, and it was only after this date that the line was completed, though the event here recorded was the commencement of the laying down of that network of railways which now covers the eastern part of the Cape Colony.

On the 11th of August parliament was prorogued, when the governor in his closing speech expressed his regret that the bill to amend the constitution ordinance by removing all impediments to the system of responsible government was refused a second reading in the legislative council, for, irrespective of loss of time, other questions more or

less dependent on such a change remained unsettled in consequence of its postponement.

The most notable instance that ever occurred in the Cape Colony of damage caused by a sudden and violent fall of rain took place in this year 1871. At ten o'clock in the evening of the 27th of February most of the residents in the village of Victoria West, unsuspecting of danger of any kind, had retired to rest. The village, which stands twelve hundred and fifty metres or four thousand one hundred feet above the level of the sea, is built in a kloof, through which flows one of the feeders of the Ongars river, a tributary of the Orange. Suddenly the roar of rushing water was heard, and before the people in the lower part of the village could escape they were surrounded. A storm cloud had burst farther up the kloof, the stream had suddenly risen to a height unknown before, and was now rushing onward, sweeping not only light materials, but even huge boulders before it. The flood lasted until three o'clock in the morning of the 28th, and when it subsided, it was found that over thirty houses had been washed away and sixty-two persons had been drowned.

CHAPTER LXIX.

SIR HENRY BARKLY, GOVERNOR AND HIGH COMMISSIONER,
(*continued*).

THE question as to the future form of government occupied the attention of the colonists during the recess between the sessions of parliament, and the advocates of the responsible system were steadily gaining ground. The time was particularly favourable for a calm discussion of the matter, as the colony was enjoying greater prosperity than it had known for many years, and so the distorted views that always accompany depression were far from prevalent. The British settlers and their descendants in the main were still holding out against the introduction of parliamentary government, not from disregard of the merits of that system, but simply because they feared the domination of the western people. The extreme conservative party in the west objected to it, because they feared changes of any kind. On the eastern border, in the midland districts, and generally in the west a large majority of the white people were now in favour of it. The blacks with very few exceptions had no opinion either way, for they were incapable of understanding what was meant by ministerial responsibility.

On the 18th of April 1872 parliament assembled, when the governor made an opening speech of great length, of which the following were the first clauses:

“So many questions of vital importance to the welfare of this colony urgently require solution that I have been led to seek at an earlier period than usual your advice and coöperation.

“Foremost amongst these questions, because at the very root of legislation on all the others, stands that of an amendment in the

defective and unsatisfactory relations established between the legislature and the executive government under the constitution act of 1854.

"When I invited you a year ago to decide, one way or the other, the long agitated question of constitutional reform, I had been too short a time in the colony to warrant the expression of any decided opinion of my own as to the direction such reform ought to take.

"I held it, indeed, for an axiom that where representative institutions exist, government by parliamentary majority is the only system under which the opposing currents of local interests and party prejudices can find their true level and run on in safe and proper channels; but I could not feel altogether free from doubt as to whether the crown had not been induced to act prematurely in granting the boon of representation to its South African subjects, and whether, consequently, its true policy at the present juncture might not be to endeavour to retrace the steps then taken, and regain, as far as possible, the authority with which it had parted.

"Now, however, that I have had opportunity for careful observation, I am bound to state my conviction that there is no ground for mistrusting the use that the Cape colonists would make of political power; while, on the other hand, were demonstration wanting of their due appreciation of political freedom, the well-sustained debates of last session, the able controversies which have been carried on in the columns of the colonial press, nay, the electioneering contests themselves to which the agitation of the question of reform has given rise, afford the strongest proofs of the thorough fitness of the colonists to be entrusted with the uncontrolled management of their own affairs. Experience elsewhere leads me further to believe that whatever special difficulties they may have to contend with in so doing will be diminished by the promptitude of decision and unity of action incident to responsible government, instead of being enhanced, as now, by the uncertainty under which the executive must labour as to the views either house of parliament will entertain on any given subject, as well as by the suspicions to which it is always exposed of favouring one side more than the other, or of availing itself of divisions to carry out a policy of its own.

"Even as regards the greatest difficulty of all, the remoteness of the seat of government, and the conflict of interests thereby created between the eastern and western districts, the jealousies engendered by which have for so many years impeded the construction of public works in both, and retarded in other ways the general prosperity of the colony, I cannot but think that the evenly balanced share which each would be soon found to command in the formation of any durable ministry, combined with the effects of a readjustment of representation, and the increased powers of local self-government, which would follow in the wake of the more important constitutional change, would, ere long,

put an end to struggles of this sort, or convert them into mere wholesome competition and harmless rivalry.

"On these grounds, and because I can perceive no chance of making progress with any other measure until this be settled, I shall at once reintroduce, as I am authorised and instructed by her Majesty's government to do, the bill to amend the constitution in certain respects which I transmitted to the assembly last session, in pursuance of an address presented to me by the house.

"With a view to avoid loss of valuable time, by limiting the issue to points already fully discussed, the bill will be sent down in the exact form it had assumed when thrown out on the motion for its second reading in the legislative council."

Accordingly, on the 22nd of April the bill was introduced in the house of assembly as a government measure, and was read the first time. The attorney-general, Mr. W. D. Griffith, was absent in Europe on leave, and Mr. Simeon Jacobs, the solicitor-general, was acting in his stead. On the 17th of May he moved the second reading of the bill.

Mr. J. T. Eustace moved, and Mr. C. A. Smith seconded, that it be read that day six months.

The debate that followed covered the same ground as in the preceding session, and was continued with great animation until the 28th, when the amendment was put to the vote and was lost by twenty-five against thirty-five. The original motion was carried by the same numbers reversed.

The majority in favour of responsible government consisted of twenty-two western province and thirteen eastern province members, namely

Mr. John Adams,		member for Victoria West, Western province,	
„ Rudolph P. Botha,	„	Cradock,	Eastern „
„ Dirk van Breda,	„	Caledon,	Western „
„ Andries G. H. van Breda,	„	Malmesbury,	„ „
„ James Buchanan,	„	Victoria West,	„ „
„ Robert M. Bowker,	„	Somerset East,	Eastern „
„ Jacobus A. Burger,	„	Graaff-Reinet,	„ „
„ John S. Distin,	„	Colesberg,	„ „
„ Jacob Duckitt,	„	Malmesbury,	Western „
„ Patrick Goold,	„	King-W'mstown,	Eastern „
„ Johannes Z. Human,	„	Piketberg,	Western „
„ Bernardus J. Keyter,	„	Oudtshoorn,	„ „
„ Pieter Kock,	„	Richmond,	Eastern „

Mr. Johannes J. Meiring,	member for	Worcester,	Western province,
" John C. Molteno,	"	Beaufort West,	" "
" Hendrik L. Neethling,	"	Stellenbosch,	" "
" Henry W. Pearson,	"	Port Elizabeth,	Eastern "
" Petrus J. Pentz,	"	Paarl,	Western "
" William Porter,	"	Capetown,	" "
" John S. Prince,	"	Riversdale,	" "
" Johannes J. Proctor,	"	Paarl,	" "
" John Quin,	"	Fort Beaufort,	Eastern "
" Vincent Rice,	"	Beaufort West,	Western "
" Thomas C. Scanlen,	"	Cradock,	Eastern "
" Gideon J. H. Scheepers,	"	Oudtshoorn,	Western "
" Saul Solomon,	"	Capetown,	" "
" John G. Sprigg,	"	East London,	Eastern "
" David Tennant,	"	Piketberg,	Western "
" Robert Torbet,	"	Namaqualand,	" "
" Petrus B. van Rhyn,	"	Clanwilliam,	" "
" John H. de Villiers,	"	Worcester,	" "
" Philippus J. A. Watermeyer,	"	Richmond,	Eastern "
" Gotlieb W. B. Wehmeyer,	"	George,	Western "
" Jacobus A. de Wet,	"	Somerset East,	Eastern "
" Jeremias F. Ziervogel,	"	Graaff-Reinet,	" "

The minority, or those opposed to the introduction of responsible government, consisted of sixteen easterns and nine westerns, namely

Mr. Reuben Ayliff,	member for	Uitenhage,	Eastern province,
" William Ayliff,	"	Fort Beaufort,	" "
" Henry F. A. Barrington,	"	George,	Western "
" Thomas D. Barry,	"	Riversdale,	" "
" William Bell,	"	Albert,	Eastern "
" Henry W. Bidwell,	"	Uitenhage,	" "
" Hendrik W. van Breda,	"	Caledon,	Western "
" George Brown,	"	Victoria East,	Eastern "
" George C. Clough,	"	Grahamstown,	" "
" John T. Eustace,	"	Capetown,	Western "
" Joseph Gush,	"	Albany,	Eastern "
" Thomas B. Glanville,	"	Grahamstown	" "
" Thomas A. King,	"	Victoria East,	" "
" William Knight,	"	Port Elizabeth,	" "
" Samuel Loxton,	"	Queenstown,	" "
" Charles J. Manuel,	"	Cape district,	Western "
" John X. Merriman,	"	Aliwal North,	Eastern "
" Thomas Moodie,	"	Swellendam,	Western "
" Joseph M. Orpen,	"	Queenstown,	Eastern "

Mr. John R. Ross,	member for Namaqualand,	Western province,
„ George Slater,	„ Albany,	Eastern „
„ Samuel Shawe,	„ Clanwilliam,	Western „
„ Charles A. Smith,	„ King-W'mstown,	Eastern „
„ Philip P. Stigant,	„ Capetown,	Western „
„ John S. Wright,	„ East London,	Eastern „

Only five members were absent from the house on this occasion, three easterns representing Albert, Aliwal North, and Colesberg, and two westerns representing the Cape district and Swellendam.

For a form of government that is preëminently English, eighteen Dutch speaking members and seventeen English speaking members voted, and against it were twenty-four English speaking and only one Dutch speaking member.

On the 3rd of June the bill was read the third time in the assembly, and was immediately sent to the council. During the recess pressure had been put upon two of the members—Dr. Hiddingh and Mr. P. E. de Roubaix—by many of their constituents, to induce them to change their opinions, and they were now wavering. Deputations from all parts of the province at this juncture waited upon them with the request that they would give their votes for the change. Petition after petition in favour of responsible government was addressed to the council, and though a few were sent in against it, they served only to show, as the elections for the assembly had done, that the great majority of the people of the western province who took any interest at all in politics were in favour of the proposed system. Dr. Hiddingh and Mr. De Roubaix therefore changed sides when on the 11th of June Mr. Jacobs moved that the bill be read the second time, and Mr. Wood, seconded by Mr. Vigne, moved that it be read that day six months.

For responsible government nine western and two eastern members voted, namely

The honourable John Barry,	- - - - -	Western province,
„ Dr. François Louis Charles Biecard,	-	„
„ Johannes Albertus van der Byl,	-	„
„ Dr. Jonas Michiel Hiddingh,	- -	„

The honourable Gilles Johannes de Korte,	-	-	Western province,
" Marthinus Laurentius Neethling,	-	-	"
" Petrus Emanuel de Roubaix,	-	-	"
" Joseph Vintcent,	-	-	"
" Dr. Henry White,	-	-	"
" Charles Lennox Stretch,	-	-	Eastern province,
" Frans Karel Te Water,	-	-	"

Against responsible government eight eastern and two western members voted, namely

The honourable Samuel Cawood,	-	-	-	Eastern province,
" John Centlivres Chase,	-	-	-	"
" Henry Bailey Christian,	-	-	-	"
" Robert Godlonton,	-	-	-	"
" James Cotterill Hoole,	-	-	-	"
" Dennis Harper Kennelly,	-	-	-	"
" Pieter Wouter Scholtz,	-	-	-	"
" George Wood,	-	-	-	"
" Willem Anne Janssens de Smidt,	-	-	-	Western province,
" Henry Thomas Vigne,	-	-	-	"

When in committee the minority made a strong effort to defeat the bill, but unsuccessfully. On the 12th of June it was read the third time, and was then reserved by the governor for the signification of her Majesty's pleasure.

The eight eastern members who were in the minority did not even yet cease their opposition. On the 17th of June they presented to the governor a formal protest against the introduction of responsible government, with a request that it should be forwarded to her Majesty. The principal reasons which they assigned were :

"Because the western province has always had the advantage of a parliamentary majority in both houses of parliament, by means of which the eastern province has been coerced, and representative institutions in this colony have been rendered thereby unreal and illusory.

"Because, notwithstanding this perpetual majority in both houses of parliament, the eastern province members of the legislature have been subjected for eighteen years to great and serious disadvantages arising from their remoteness from the seat of government, and by the consequent loss and inconvenience of attending a parliament convened at a distance of from five hundred to eight hundred miles from their several homes.

"Because the eastern province, though labouring under these great disadvantages, contributes by far the largest amount to the general revenue of the colony, the latest complete official returns showing that for the year 1870 the contribution by the eastern province exceeded that by the western by the sum of £79,301, while its expenditure was £52,109 below that of the western province.

"Because the question of the policy of the government in respect to the native races in this country bears with undue pressure on the eastern province, the number being as two to one against the white population, while they have on their immediate border more than two hundred thousand souls, who have either been located or are recognised by the government, but over whom the eastern province has no control.

"Because repeated and strenuous endeavours have been made in parliament by eastern province members, either to obtain the removal of the seat of government to a more central locality, or the establishment of local government; but that such endeavours have been persistently defeated by the standing majority before mentioned.

"Because the eastern province has felt it an intolerable grievance that its inhabitants, while contributing the largest share of the public revenue, and while exposed to and suffering from their contiguity to large masses of barbarian natives, should be under the domination of Capetown, a large proportion of the parliamentary members for the western province being residents of that city."

In opposition to this protest Messrs. Stretch and Te Water, the other members of the legislative council for the eastern province, wrote to the governor that they entirely dissented from its contents, and were of the opinion that the introduction of party government would be to the interest of the whole eastern province. They pointed out that the existing mode of election of members of the council prevented the midland districts from returning as many members as they were entitled to, so that the public opinion of the whole province was not properly represented by those who signed the protest.

The statement that the eastern province contributed more to the general revenue than the western was also contradicted by many persons, and it was pointed out that the figures given by the protesting members were arrived at by including in eastern province revenue the customs duties and other charges on the whole of the goods that

passed through Port Elizabeth to the republics and diamond fields beyond the Orange river and even to many districts in the western province. If these amounts were deducted, it was shown that the eastern province revenue would be greatly below that of the west.

The eight objecting members next endeavoured to induce the council to pass a resolution in favour of the separation of the provinces into distinct colonies, and when that failed, they tried to press a resolution through recommending that the parliament should be summoned to meet in the east, which was likewise rejected.

The inequality of representation of the two provinces in the house of assembly was being rectified while the constitution amendment bill was in progress in the legislative council. On the 14th of June a bill, introduced by Mr. T. C. Scanlen, which constituted Wodehouse an electoral division with the right of returning two members, passed its second reading in the assembly. Now that responsible government was assured, the western members were not averse to increasing the voting power of the east, and this bill passed through all its stages in both houses and had effect from the next general election. There were at that time twenty thousand nine hundred and five registered electors in the western, and fourteen thousand four hundred and eighty-three in the eastern province.* In allotting thirty-four representatives to the latter as to the former, the principle was recognised that the disadvantages of distance from the seat of government gave a legitimate claim for compensation.

The inequality in the legislative council was not disturbed, because the constitution of that body was regarded as unsatisfactory by many persons, and an attempt was being made to effect a change in it. Owing to the mode of election, Capetown in the west and Grahamstown and Port Elizabeth in the east were able to return so many

* The registration of 1873 showed 21,406 electors in the western and 18,126 in the eastern province.

members that the country districts regarded themselves as practically disfranchised, though in a general election, by concentrating their votes, they could return a small number. As a remedy a resolution was at this time carried in the house of assembly :

“That in the opinion of this house a further amendment of the constitution ordinance is desirable, and that a division of the whole colony into five or more electoral circles for the purpose of electing the members of the legislative council would secure a more equal exercise of their franchise to the electors, and also a better distribution of representatives in that honourable branch of the legislature. That therefore his Excellency the governor be requested, by respectful address, to prepare a measure having this object to be submitted to parliament at its next session.”

In accordance with this resolution, in the session of 1873 a bill was introduced to alter the mode of electing members of the legislative council by dividing the colony into seven circles instead of two provinces, each of which should return three members, to hold their seats for ten years. In the bill it was also proposed that the legislative council could be dissolved without the house of assembly as the house of assembly could be without the legislative council, or that both could be dissolved together. This proposal was very popular in the rural districts, but naturally met with less favour in the towns. The bill was carried in the house of assembly by a majority of thirty-five to sixteen, but was rejected by the council by the casting vote of the president. The members who opposed it spoke of it almost with indignation, as an act of political suicide, and especially as a proposal for the reform of one branch of the legislature made by the other.

In 1874, however, an act was passed by which the colony was divided into seven electoral provinces, each of which was entitled to return three members to the legislative council, to hold their seats for seven years. Under this act the council could not be dissolved unless the house of assembly was dissolved at the same time. At a general election each elector could distribute his three votes or give

all to one individual, as he might choose, thus providing for the representation of minorities. This act made the legislative council much more representative of the colony as a whole than it was before, and not the least of its good effects was the annulling of the old unnatural division into two provinces, one of which contained within itself elements of permanent discord.

Meanwhile, after the passing of the responsible government act and before its approval by the queen, an agitation was carried on in those parts of the eastern province occupied by the British settlers, in favour of separation from the west and a local government. The old separation league was revived, and great meetings were held in Grahamstown and Port Elizabeth, at which the question was represented as one of the utmost importance. But it soon became evident that separation could not be carried out. In the districts that had once formed British Kaffraria public opinion was decidedly against it, and a border league was created purposely to oppose it. The people there called to mind the efforts made by the Grahamstown party to annex them to the Cape Colony against their will, and they declared they would never consent to be governed by that party. The people of the northern and western parts of the province, though less demonstrative, were almost as strongly opposed to breaking up the colony, so that the scheme had to be abandoned.

In the session of 1872, in addition to the act introducing responsible government, various important measures were passed.

The imperial government had offered to contribute towards the construction of a graving dock within the enclosed harbour in Table Bay, and it was now resolved to commence the work, for which purpose parliament authorised the government to raise a loan of £30,000 at five per cent yearly interest. The negotiations with the imperial government fell through, however, and nothing was done in the matter until four years later, when the colonial government

undertook the work at its sole charge, and carried it to completion in 1882.

It was resolved to commence the construction of railways on a large scale, and as a preliminary step the purchase of the existing line from Capetown to Wellington from the company that owned it was authorised. The price was arranged at £780,000, which was to be paid in debentures bearing interest at the rate of four and a half per cent per annum, and a sinking fund was provided for their redemption. The purchase was thereupon made, and on the first of January 1873 the line with all the station houses, rolling stock, and other materials connected with it became the property of the colonial government.

It was intended to continue this line to Worcester by way of the Tulbagh kloof, where the earthworks had been nearly completed by order of Sir Philip Wodehouse, and also to construct a line from the Zwartkops to the Bushman's river. Acts were passed authorising the government to take possession of the ground necessary, and the sum of £40,000 was voted towards the cost of the former and £100,000 towards that of the latter, but it was only in 1873 that full legal authority for the construction of these lines and the raising of the requisite loan for the purpose was given.

A survey for a line of railway from East London to Queenstown, with a branch to King-Williamstown, was also authorised.

The new railways were to have a gauge of only forty-two inches or not quite a hundred and seven centimetres. They could be made at less cost than if the gauge was fifty-six inches and a half or a hundred and forty-three centimetres, as in the Capetown and Wellington line, and it was believed that they would answer all the purposes required nearly as well. The forty-two inches became from that time the standard gauge, and all the lines that now cover Africa south of the Zambesi have been constructed on it.

It was further resolved to purchase the existing line of telegraph from the company that owned it, and the govern-

ment was authorised to raise a loan of £45,000 at five per cent yearly interest for that purpose and £25,000 additional for the construction of a line from Fort Beaufort towards the diamond fields. It took some time to arrange the purchase, and it was only on the 1st of July 1873 that the line from Capetown to King-Williamstown became the property of the colonial government.

Every year of late a bill was brought before parliament for withdrawing grants for the salaries of clergymen of various churches, except to the existing recipients. Mr. Saul Solomon introduced it regularly, except in 1869, when Mr. William Porter brought it on. In that year it was defeated in the house of assembly by seven votes, in 1870 it was defeated in the same house by two votes, in 1871 it was passed in the assembly by a majority of three votes, but was thrown out by the council, and in 1872 the majority in the assembly rose to eleven, but the council again rejected it by a majority of four. It was thus growing in favour, and in 1875 it was passed by both houses, and became the law of the colony.

On the 31st of July, after the most eventful session in its history, parliament was prorogued.

A petition to the queen praying that her Majesty would withhold her consent to the constitution ordinance amendment bill until an appeal to the constituencies of the colony had been made was forwarded by the governor with the bill itself from nine members of the legislative council and the twenty-five members of the house of assembly who had opposed its passage through parliament. A similar petition from the chairman of a public meeting in Grahamstown also accompanied it. On the other side, an address signed by two members of the legislative council for the eastern province and twelve members of the house of assembly for eastern divisions was forwarded, in which it was asserted that "the people of that large portion of the eastern districts which they more especially represented, but who, under the system of election for the legislative council, could

not be represented in that council by a sufficient number of members of their own choice in proportion to their numbers, wealth, and standing in the colony, had long anxiously desired to have that system of government introduced; that they, in concurrence with the feelings of their constituents, and from their own convictions, had strenuously supported the bill in its passage through both houses of parliament; and that they, as well as their constituents, would feel greatly disappointed and aggrieved if any proceedings by the minority of the members of either house of parliament or other persons should succeed in preventing the confirmation of the bill by her Majesty."

As the introduction of responsible government was in accordance with the desire of the imperial authorities, and was also favoured by the governor, the protests against it were unsuccessful, and on the 9th of August Earl Kimberley forwarded an order in council in which the constitution ordinance amendment act was approved by her Majesty the queen. The arrangements necessary for making the change occupied some time after the receipt of the order, and on the 28th of November the act was promulgated by proclamation.

Mr. Southey was requested to form a ministry, but declined, on the ground that he would be unable to obtain sufficient parliamentary support. Mr. William Porter was next invited, but he also desired to be excused, as he was of advanced age and in feeble health. Mr. Molteno was then applied to, and on the 29th of November the names of the gentlemen whom he recommended, and who were approved by the governor, were published in the *Gazette*. They were Mr. (afterwards Sir) John Charles Molteno, member of the house of assembly for Beaufort West, prime minister and colonial secretary, Dr. Henry White, member of the legislative council for the western province, treasurer of the colony, Advocate (afterwards Sir) John Henry de Villiers, member of the house of assembly for Worcester, attorney-general, Mr. (afterwards Sir) Charles Abercrombie

Smith, member of the house of assembly for King-Williamstown, commissioner of crown lands and public works, and Mr. Charles Brownlee secretary for native affairs. The last office had been offered to Mr. T. B. Glanville, member of the house of assembly for Grahamstown, but his business arrangements would not permit his acceptance of it. Mr. Brownlee was then civil commissioner of King-Williamstown, but he consented to retire from that post and to enter the ministry. He was admitted by every one to be the most competent man in the colony to deal with the Bantu. There was a vacancy in the representation of the division of Albert in the house of assembly, as Mr. F. H. Hopley, one of the members, had been absent without leave during the whole of the preceding session. Mr. Brownlee was now put forward and returned, and on the 27th of February 1873 was gazetted as member for Albert.

The first responsible ministry entered into office on the 2nd of December 1872. Two of its members were from the eastern province, and every succeeding ministry to the present day has contained more than that number, so that the fear of western domination expressed by some of the eastern people in 1872 was perfectly groundless. While this is being written a ministry is in office, every member of which represents an eastern constituency, and there is not a single Dutch speaking individual in it; but no one now attaches importance to the locality for which a minister has been returned, so thoroughly have the old territorial distinctions been obliterated. As soon as the act was ratified by her Majesty, in all parts of the colony the people accepted the new form of government as established, and prepared to act in political matters in accordance with its principles.

Mr. (afterwards Sir) Richard Southey, the retired colonial secretary, received an appointment at the diamond fields, Mr. W. D. Griffith, the retired attorney-general, and Mr. J. C. Davidson, the retired treasurer-general, were awarded pensions, the former of £650, the latter of £700 a year.

With the introduction of responsible government the Cape Colony came into line with the other great self-ruling sections of the British empire, and for good or for evil its future destinies were in the hands of its own people.

In 1872 there were still two battalions of imperial troops—the 75th and the 86th,—and a wing of the 32nd, in South Africa. In July 1866 the 67th left, being replaced by the second battalion of the 11th, which in the same month returned enfeebled to South Africa from China. In May 1867 the second battalion of the 5th left for England, and was replaced at the same time by the second battalion of the 20th. In March 1868 the first battalion of the 10th left, and it was not replaced by another regiment. In July 1869 the 99th left for England, and was replaced by the 32nd. In June 1870 the second battalion of the 11th left for England and the second battalion of the 20th for Mauritius. In May 1867 a wing of the 86th arrived in South Africa from Gibraltar on the way to Mauritius, and was detained at Port Elizabeth until December, when it proceeded to its destination. The remainder of the regiment arrived in October 1868, and was detained here owing to the prevalence of fever at Mauritius. In July 1870 the wing that had gone to that island returned, and was stationed in the Cape peninsula. In August 1870 the first battalion of the 9th left for England, and in January 1871 a wing of the 2nd battalion of the 20th returned from Mauritius, and remained here until December, when it left for England. In October 1871 a wing of the 32nd left for Mauritius, and the 75th arrived, when one wing was stationed in Natal and the other in King-Williamstown. A wing of the 32nd remained on the eastern frontier.

Thus within five years the imperial troops in South Africa were reduced from five battalions of infantry to two battalions and a half. Besides these a few artillerymen and engineers remained in the colony. This reduction was less than that indicated by the secretary of state in 1867,

but it was much regretted by the frontier colonists. In January 1870 the British settlers sent a strong petition to the queen against further removal of troops, and in April of the same year the house of assembly forwarded a similar memorial. The secretary of state in reply promised to give the colony time to make arrangements for its own defence, but held out no hope that British soldiers would be kept in South Africa much longer, except to protect Natal and in the Cape peninsula for imperial purposes.

The Cape Mounted Rifles were disbanded in 1870. On the 4th of June in that year the standards of the regiment were carried by Colonel Knight and some other officers of the disbanded corps to St. George's cathedral in Capetown, and were suspended therein after a religious service.

The colony maintained for the defence of its eastern border a most efficient force of light cavalry, the frontier armed and mounted police, then numbering twenty-one officers, thirty-five non-commissioned officers, and five hundred and twenty-seven privates. There were four hundred and ninety volunteers in the various towns, and the burghers generally were liable to be called to arms for defensive purposes.

Education was making fair progress. There were one hundred and sixty-six public schools in the towns and villages, attended by European children, and three hundred and forty-six mission schools, attended by coloured children, receiving aid from the government. Forty-six thousand two hundred and forty-five children were attending these schools at the close of the year.

Under the mail contract the Union Company was bound to send steamships from Southampton to Table Bay and back again twice in every month, the time allowed for a passage being thirty-seven days. But already there was a powerful rival line in existence, and the Castle Steamship Company, under the energetic management of Mr. (afterwards Sir) Donald Currie, was also sending steamers each way fortnightly, so that practically there was a weekly mail

from and to England. The Union Company's steamer *Danube* had made the run out in twenty-five days, and a still shorter passage had been made by the rival company's steamer *Walmer Castle*, of two thousand five hundred tons burden, which arrived in Table Bay twenty-four days and six hours after leaving England. The Union Company's fleet consisted of nine ocean steamers from a thousand and fifty-five to two thousand tons burden, a coaster of seven hundred and twenty-four tons, and a reserve ship.

The need of a safe harbour at the mouth of the Buffalo river was once more shown by the wreck of a number of vessels there on Sunday the 26th of May 1872. At five o'clock in the morning the steamer *Quanza*, of nearly a thousand tons burden, partly laden with wool for England, snapped her cables, and was driven ashore on the eastern side of the mouth. It had been blowing a gale all night, but she had neglected to get up steam, and was helpless when her cables parted. An hour later she was followed by the brig *Sharp*, which struck on the same side of the river. At half past eight the barque *Queen of May* parted, and was carried high up on the rocky shore on the western side of the mouth. At ten o'clock the brig *Elaine* struck on the eastern side, and was followed to the same shore a little later by the brig *Martha*, at noon by the brig *Emma*, and at half past two in the afternoon by the barque *Refuge*. Only two lives were lost, but much property was destroyed, as the *Sharp*, the *Martha*, and the *Refuge* were full of inward cargo, and the *Queen of May*, the *Elaine*, and the *Emma* were only partly discharged. The roadstead was cleared of shipping.

On Monday morning a wreck was seen on the coast about seven miles or eleven kilometres to the eastward, and the harbour master, Captain George Walker, immediately left with a lifeboat on a waggon to try to render assistance. On arriving opposite the wreck it was found that she had struck on a reef far out, and that it was impossible to get to her with the boat. On Tuesday the German coasting

steamer *Bismarck* came down from Natal, and on Wednesday morning took Captain Walker and the lifeboat from East London to the wreck, which was found to be the *Jane Davies*, a ship of eight hundred and forty-six tons burden, from Rangoon bound to Liverpool, with a cargo of rice and cotton. The gale had by this time abated, but the sea was still breaking over the wreck, so that it was difficult for the lifeboat to get alongside. This was at last managed, however, when eighteen men and the captain's wife and little son were rescued. They had been lashed to the rigging since seven o'clock on Sunday evening, when the ship struck, and were then half dead from hunger and exposure. Five sailors had tried to get ashore with cork buoys, and four had succeeded, but the other perished.

The imports and exports of the colony from 1868 to 1872, the revenue for the same years, and the items of expenditure in 1871 and 1872 are shown in the following tables.

Imports and Exports of the Cape Colony.

IMPORTS.	1868.	1869.	1870.	1871.	1872.
Port Elizabeth	£916,915	£1,050,041	£1,184,492	£1,457,204	£2,339,503
Capetown	806,183	764,077	910,412	898,904	1,410,584
East London...	53,157	23,009	52,052	96,595	300,342
Mossel Bay ...	54,915	43,369	41,615	47,289	81,563
Port Alfred ...	30,049	35,037	30,143	23,799	69,293
Simonstown ...	18,456	17,758	18,571	17,691	9,204
Port Beaufort	3,915	344	222	3,391	37
	£1,883,590	£1,933,635	£2,237,507	£2,544,873	£4,210,526
EXPORTS.					
Pt. Elizabeth	£1,553,603	£1,457,981	£1,858,185	£2,262,704	£3,137,400
Capetown ...	388,110	462,829	448,066	945,381	1,188,023
East London	112,460	27,899	33,169	69,234	142,343
Mossel Bay	36,285	68,774	51,316	68,689	93,833
Port Alfred	116,106	121,896	58,276	49,933	101,191
Simonstown	648	310	3,833	11,889	3,281
Port Beaufort	8,669	0	923	805	0
	£2,215,881	£2,139,689	£2,453,768	£3,408,635	£4,666,071

Exports of the Cape Colony.

	1868.	1869.	1870.	1871.	1872.
Wool.....	£1,806,459	£1,602,528	£1,669,518	£2,191,233	£3,275,150
Hides, skins, and horns	158,149	199,936	236,100	300,914	379,197
Copper ore ...	60,985	114,031	146,368	160,956	328,458
Ostrich feathers	57,725	70,003	87,074	150,499	158,024
Grain, flour, &c.	20,412	11,034	33,241	53,838	41,947
Dried fish ...	20,670	21,267	25,976	25,367	17,408
Preserved fruit	24,424	10,135	6,509	12,271	7,188
Wine.....	13,549	18,905	14,741	11,016	15,246
Horses	7,450	5,627	6,043	5,521	3,200
Ivory.....	7,510	13,002	13,746	9,201	23,976
Aloes.....	3,784	2,770	2,715	2,367	3,221
Argol.....	980	1,586	1,541	2,941	3,633
Diamonds .....	...	...	...	403,349	306,041
Mohair .....	...	...	...	43,059	58,457
Other S. African produce.....	33,784	68,865	210,196	36,103	44,925
Total.....	£2,215,881	£2,139,689	£2,453,768	£3,408,635	£4,666,071

Revenue of the Cape Colony.

	1868.	1869.	1870.	1871.	1872.
Customs duties	£283,024	£295,662	£341,994	£384,808	£604,413
Stamps and licenses	60,112	60,862	65,464	67,602	76,739
Land revenue.....	49,382	57,507	65,969	80,687	104,280
Transfer dues	40,804	39,123	35,239	35,667	52,540
Postage.....	28,430	25,479	26,480	28,398	32,441
Fines and fees.....	16,779	15,472	17,301	15,040	17,000
Auction duty	11,637	11,167	12,301	12,054	17,489
Bank notes duty	4,029	3,300	3,248	4,130	7,984
Succession duty	3,433	6,389	4,776	4,067	6,969
House tax.....	...	...	10,028	31,426	23,119
	£497,630	£514,961	£582,800	£663,879	£942,974
Land sales	36,867	18,385	43,995	16,332	44,061
Rents	153	1,051	1,014	1,296	1,840
Sale of government property	458	992	1,014	866	628
Reimbursements.....	22,403	14,301	27,150	25,672	28,229
Miscellaneous	322	274	131	204	82
Interest and premiums	5,778	2,988	4,104	3,083	3,629
Special	2,445	5,235	1,186	23,330	18,443
	£595,556	£558,187	£661,394	£734,662	£1,039,886

Expenditure of the Cape Colony.

	1871	1872
Interest	£109,422	£106,318
Border department	70,905	80,686
Civil	47,674	49,154
Judicial	49,445	47,567
Police and prisons	36,341	39,123
Revenue department	31,305	30,022
Works and buildings	23,623	28,975
Conveyance of mails	29,384	28,632
Convicts	28,091	22,281
Education	20,972	21,876
Pensions	24,550	20,888
Hospitals	27,263	19,707
Ecclesiastical	15,489	15,376
Roads and bridges	13,251	15,244
Parliamentary	12,039	14,286
Medical	11,251	11,340
Colonial military allowance	10,000	10,000
Transport	8,099	7,072
Rent	6,417	5,769
Other	137,940	76,252
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	£713,461	£650,568

In 1872 £259,900 of the public debt was paid from the revenue.

The diamonds shown on the preceding page as exported were only those entered at the customs, a far larger quantity went out of the country without its being possible to trace either their number or value.

The adoption of responsible government is one of the most prominent dividing lines in the history of the Cape Colony, and it is fitting that, with it the narrative of the olden times should end. Prior to this date the policy of the country was directed from a great distance by men whose intentions were certainly good, but whose knowledge of the condition of things in South Africa was often extremely limited, and who were therefore liable to make great blunders. The ever present fear of increasing the pecuniary liabilities of an already overburdened treasury was natural and praiseworthy, for the interests of Great Britain had necessarily to be considered as well as those

of the colony ; but from want of local knowledge it led in many instances to the loss of pounds in the attempt to save pence. The withdrawal of the British flag from the Orange River Sovereignty and from the Transkeian territories can never be too deeply deplored, not only on account of the enormous amount of blood and treasure which those measures occasioned, but—in the latter case—because the progress of civilisation was thereby retarded and barbarians were planted where Europeans, without wronging others, could have settled and thriven.

The wave of fanaticism that had passed over England was already beginning to subside, though it had not yet entirely disappeared. It had obliterated many abuses, had for ever swept away the horrible traffic in human beings, and had borne much hope on its crest for the inferior races of men. But it had done much harm also. It took no heed of the differences that nature has made between Caucasians and barbarians, but threatened to bring all to a common level. Under the old system of government the colony was often powerless in opposition to the pressure that the great philanthropic societies could bring to bear upon the imperial authorities ; now it was free to act in accordance with what was for the benefit of all.

CHAPTER LXX.

THE COLONY OF NATAL, 1857 TO 1872.

JOHN SCOTT, ESQRE., LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR, RETIRED 31ST OF
DECEMBER 1864.

LIEUTENANT - COLONEL JOHN MACLEAN, C.B., LIEUTENANT-
GOVERNOR, ASSUMED DUTY 31ST OF DECEMBER 1864,
LEFT NATAL ON LEAVE OWING TO ILL
HEALTH 26TH OF JULY 1865, AND
SHORTLY AFTERWARDS DIED.

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL JOHN WELLESLEY THOMAS, C.B., ACTING
ADMINISTRATOR, FROM 26TH OF JULY TO 26TH OF
AUGUST 1865.

LIEUTENANT - COLONEL JOHN JARVIS BISSET, OF THE CAPE
MOUNTED RIFLES, ACTING ADMINISTRATOR, FROM 26TH
OF AUGUST 1865 TO 24TH OF MAY 1867.

ROBERT WILLIAM KEATE, ESQRE., LIEUTENANT - GOVERNOR,
ASSUMED DUTY 24TH OF MAY 1867, RETIRED 19TH
OF JULY 1872.

ANTHONY MUSGRAVE, ESQRE., C.M.G., LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR,
ASSUMED DUTY 19TH OF JULY 1872.

THE progress of Natal from 1857 to 1872 was as rapid as could reasonably have been expected of a colony which did not attract European settlers in large numbers. The swarms of Bantu upon its soil deterred those who were leaving Great Britain for other lands from selecting it as a suitable place in which to endeavour to make new homes, as it was feared that neither life nor property would be safe in presence of such a host of barbarians. The resources of the government also were too slender to do much in the way of assisting immigrants, either by providing free passages

or offering employment on large public works. People resident in the colony could indeed get out relatives and friends from Great Britain by guaranteeing to repay within twelve months to the government £10 towards the cost of passage of each statute adult, but the number thus introduced was very small. From 1857 to the close of 1864 it amounted only to one thousand seven hundred and three individuals, and during the next four years it averaged less than a hundred a year, when it ceased altogether.

Great hopes were entertained that large numbers of settlers would be introduced by an association termed the Natal Land and Colonisation Company, which was formed in England in December 1860, with a capital of £225,000 in £10 shares. This company had acquired from speculators who took part in its formation two hundred and fifty thousand acres of land in the colony at 11s. 6d. an acre, payable in shares, and it professed to have in view the settlement of Europeans upon its property. But it never did anything to promote colonisation. On the contrary, it commenced its operations by leasing ground to Bantu, and finding that method of realising large dividends answer, it continued the system until any attempt to disturb its tenants would have been dangerous. A few years later it was receiving as much as twenty-eight shillings on an average as yearly rental from the proprietor of each hut upon its estates. And this method of making money, so detrimental to the interests of the colony, was followed by many other large landowners, until Natal became like a huge Bantu location with a few centres of European industry in it.

In accordance with proposals made by an immigration board, in 1865 the legislative council adopted a scheme of encouraging immigrants, under which tracts of land in the southern part of the colony suitable for agricultural purposes were to be laid out in plots varying in size from fifty to one hundred and fifty acres, passages were to be given to selected persons on payment of £5 for each statute adult, who should receive an order for ground to the value of £10, but not a

title to it until after two years occupation. As crown lands after July 1858 could be sold in freehold only at an upset price of four shillings an acre, this was equivalent to an offer of fifty acres free for each adult in a family. Further, crown lands were to be offered on lease at fourpence an acre for seven years, with the right of purchase at ten shillings an acre, subject to occupation and improvement. Dr. Robert James Mann, superintendent of education, was detached for special service for two years, and was sent to England to endeavour to procure settlers under this scheme.

Mr. Cardwell, who was then secretary of state for the colonies, disapproved of the plan, however, on the ground that none but persons of the labouring class would be attracted by it, and for them, in his opinion, there was no room in Natal. Already out of eleven and a half millions of acres in the colony, over seven millions had been granted to individuals, while only thirty-eight thousand acres were cultivated, and the whole European population amounted to little over sixteen thousand souls. He suggested the imposition of a land tax, which would cause speculators to sell, and thus attract immigrants with capital as cultivators. But on the 6th of July 1866 the earl of Carnarvon succeeded Mr. Cardwell at the colonial office, and very shortly afterwards he consented to Dr. Mann making an effort to procure settlers on the following conditions:

Blocks of land suitable for agriculture were to be selected and laid out in plots of two hundred acres each, which were to have a good road along them. Every alternate plot was then to be offered as a free gift to a family possessed of capital to the amount of £500, but the title would not be given until after two years continuous occupation. The grantee was to have the right of purchasing the vacant plot adjoining his own at any time within five years at ten shillings an acre. Tracts of land suitable for pastoral purposes only were to be laid out in plots of fifteen hundred acres each, and offered on leases of five years at two pence an acre, with the right of purchase of a small area within

the boundaries. And to suit people of very limited means, plots fifty acres in size, with a right to the use of a commonage, were to be offered as free grants to agriculturists who could pay £5 towards the cost of passage of each statute adult in their families and give proof of their ability to maintain themselves for six months.

Under these conditions Dr. Mann endeavoured to obtain a suitable class of emigrants from Great Britain, but met with very little success. Already the number of agriculturists in England had greatly diminished, owing to the repeal of the corn laws, and those who remained showed no inclination to remove to a country occupied mainly by barbarians. Townspeople could have been had, but these were not needed, as they would be consumers, not producers of anything that could find a market.

A few families from Great Britain, a rather larger number from the Cape Colony, and some little parties from different European countries, however, migrated to Natal at this time. A band of settlers, ninety individuals in all, had been sent from Holland by the Netherlands Emigration Company, and in September 1858 had been located at a place which they called New Gelderland, a few kilometres north of the Umvoti river. Being under the direction of an able and enterprising man, Mr. T. W. Colenbrander by name, the majority of these people had been successful in making comfortable homes, and this being reported in Europe attracted some notice. They turned their attention chiefly to cane growing, and in 1872 the largest sugar mill in the colony was on their estate.

In 1869 and 1870 the diamond fields along the lower course of the Vaal, then recently discovered, attracted many of the inhabitants of Natal, and at this time and for several years to come the number of Europeans who abandoned the colony was in excess of those who entered it. Among them was a young man whose name has become famous throughout the world,—Cecil John Rhodes,—who had for some time been farming unsuccessfully.

But if European immigration was small, people of another race were beginning to make their appearance in Natal, people who were destined in later years to eject the white man from many occupations and to alter the whole conditions of life in the colony. Owing to the precarious supply of rough field labour afforded by the Bantu, sugar, coffee, and cotton planting could not be carried on with any prospect of success, and as early as 1856 the legislative council approved of the introduction of coolies from Hindostan and requested the lieutenant-governor to make regulations regarding them. No one appears to have foreseen that these people would ever be anything but rough labourers, and no objection was therefore made to the measure. It was supposed indeed that they would be desirous of returning to India when their term of service had expired, so that their temporary presence could do no possible harm.

Indians were therefore brought over at the public expense in the first instance, the planters to whom they were allotted as labourers binding themselves to repay to the government within a stated time the cost of their passages. The men were to receive wages at the rate of 10s. a month for the first year of service, 11s. a month the second year, and 12s. a month the third year; they were to be comfortably lodged, to be provided with proper medical attendance when ill, and to be supplied with rations consisting of a pound and a half (680·38 grammes) of rice or two pounds (907·18 grammes) of stamped maize a day, besides two pounds of dhol, two pounds of salted fish, one pound of ghee or oil, and one pound of salt a month. Females and boys under ten years of age were to receive half rations, and were to be at liberty to make what terms they could with the employers of the heads of their families. Upon the expiration of their terms of service they were to be provided with free return passages to India. Cheaper labour than this could hardly have been desired.

Various enactments were made in the following years concerning the introduction of coolies. In 1859 a law was

passed which prohibited labourers being brought from the East, except from British India, without a special license from the lieutenant-governor, under penalty of a fine of £50 or three months imprisonment, and the persons so attempted to be brought in were to be sent back at the cost of the owner, agent, or master of the ship. But beyond this no attempt was made to prevent Natal from becoming an Asiatic settlement.

All coolies introduced were required to be transferred by the master of the ship to an officer entitled the protector of immigrants, whose duty it was to see that they were treated according to the regulations.

In 1864 the council resolved to raise a loan of £100,000 at six per cent interest per annum, for the purpose of introducing coolies. One third of the passage money was to be paid by government. The term of assignment to planters was extended from three to five years, and the rate of wages was fixed at 14s. a month for the fourth year and 15s. a month for the fifth.

Before the close of 1865 nearly six thousand coolies had been introduced, and as yet no evil effects were felt from their presence. The demand for European skilled labour had increased, as overseers, engineers, and mechanics were required on the plantations; and those Indians who preferred to remain in the colony after the expiration of their term of service, rather than return to their native country, had accepted employment as domestics or labourers. Colonists who had experienced the want of reliable servants were therefore not only willing but anxious that more should be introduced, and that some of them should remain in Natal permanently.

This feeling gained ground until 1870, when a law was enacted that every coolie should be entitled to a free passage back to India after ten years residence in the colony, five years of which must have been passed as a contracted labourer, but if he did not care to return he could have crown land to the value of the passage. Most of the coast

lands south of Durban were then occupied by Bantu, and the best of those north of the port were possessed by Europeans, or Natal might have become an Indian colony under the operation of this law.

The indentured Indians were followed by others of the trading class, who came from different parts of Southern Asia as free immigrants, and who could not then be excluded, although from the first it was recognised that they were a menace to the Europeans.

Gradually — almost imperceptibly — these people and the coolies, who had no interest in returning to Hindostan, but a very strong interest in remaining in the pleasant country that afforded them the means of obtaining a comfortable livelihood, got into their hands almost all the easy occupations that in the early days it was hoped white men would have secured. Europeans with the ordinary standard of living could not compete as petty traders, as market gardeners, or in light mechanical pursuits with men who could thrive on a fifth part of the same returns, and were thus compelled to abandon the field. The elimination of this class of persons gave a preponderance to those who benefited for the time being by coolie labour, and who were content to resign the hope of Natal becoming a European settlement or the wish that she should advance in a line with the other great communities in South Africa. The security of the colony was affected, for the Indians contribute nothing to its defence. It is thus a land of planters using chiefly imported coloured labour, and of conveyancers of goods to and from the interior.

To secure as much as possible of the trade of the territories beyond the Drakensberg became now the first object of the government and the people. The customs duties on goods imported from oversea were made considerably lower than those of the Cape Colony, being after the 1st of July 1867 only six per cent of the declared value of all articles not admitted free or specially classified. Strenuous efforts were made to improve the entrance to the harbour, by the

construction of piers that it was hoped would cause the removal of the bar. Unfortunately much money was wasted in this undertaking, though the first plan adopted was a good one; as has been proved in recent times. While it was being carried out, however, another, very dissimilar, which had been designed by Captain Vetch, of the harbour department of the admiralty, was substituted, and the earlier work was abandoned. Money was raised by the government on loan for twenty-three years at six per cent interest per annum, as a first charge upon the revenue of the colony, and was expended upon a pier that afterwards proved useless.

To convey goods from the landing place at the Point to Durban over the heavy sand that intervened, in June 1859 a local company was incorporated with a capital of £10,000, and the first railroad in South Africa was constructed. In 1860 it was opened for traffic. In 1865 the government resolved to construct a line from some quarries on the Umgeni river to a junction on the Durban-Point railway, and to extend the latter to the harbour works, chiefly for the conveyance of stone. This railway was opened for traffic on the 23rd of January 1867. For convenience in working it was leased to the Natal Railway Company, and was controlled by that association.

In 1864 the construction of a lighthouse on the Bluff was resolved upon by the government. An iron tower 24·69 metres in height, was erected, and a revolving light was first exhibited from it on the 1st of January 1867.

Roads fit for traffic by bullock waggons were made to the borders of the two republics, and bridges were constructed over several of the rivers. Unfortunately, during a great flood which occurred at the end of August 1868 most of these bridges were washed away, and much damage was otherwise done. From four o'clock in the afternoon of the 28th to six o'clock in the morning of the 31st of that month twelve and three quarters inches, or 32·36 centimetres, of rain fell at Maritzburg and sixteen inches and a half, or

41·88 centimetres, at Durban, so that the rivers rolled down in mighty floods, sweeping everything away before them.

Sugar planting had now become the principal industry along the coast north of Durban. With experience it had been ascertained that the situations selected by the first cultivators were not by any means the most suitable for the growth of the canes, but large areas of land well adapted for the purpose had been brought under cultivation. There had been many failures in this industry, owing to want of sufficient capital and experience, but new planters thrived upon the wrecks of the old. In 1872 there were six thousand two hundred and eighty acres of ground under cane, and the sugar produced amounted to 8,795,000 kilogrammes or eight thousand six hundred and thirty-eight tons avoirdupois. There were then eighty-three steam factories for crushing cane and making sugar in the colony.

The civil war in the United States of America caused a great scarcity of cotton in England and a consequent rise in the price of that article, which induced many persons in Natal to turn their attention again to its production, especially as Indian labour was now available. In 1861 it was taken in hand, and found to grow well even in some situations on the second terrace from the coast. But in addition to the occasional destruction of crops by drought, floods, frost, hail, and high winds—to all of which Natal is subject, though losses from such causes are not more frequent there than in England itself—the charges for carriage to Europe were then excessively high and the cotton plant was attacked by insects to such an extent that the industry never proved profitable, and after efforts extending over several years its cultivation was abandoned.

In 1863 coffee, which had long been grown in Natal, though not to any large extent, suddenly became a favourite article of production, and many plantations on a considerable scale were laid out. It was subject to the same drawbacks as cotton, except from insects, but for many years it thrived, and came to be regarded as a permanent product of the

colony. In 1872 there were three thousand seven hundred acres of ground laid out as coffee plantations, and the crop of that year amounted to 763,864 kilogrammes or one million six hundred and eighty thousand five hundred pounds, when ready for the market.

Wheat, though it grows well in various parts of the high terraces, never was cultivated to a large extent. It could not be conveyed to the lower country at a price that would enable it to compete with sea-borne grain from America or Australia, and consequently the bread used in Durban and along the coast was made of imported flour. In 1872 there were only nineteen hundred acres of land in Natal producing wheat. The colonists found maize more profitable. It was easily cultivated, the returns were large, and it supplied the most suitable food for coloured servants and for fattening hogs. It could often be purchased at a cheap rate from the Bantu in the locations, but this source of supply was not depended upon. In 1872 the colonists had over sixteen thousand five hundred acres of ground planted with maize. Oats and barley were cultivated to a considerable extent, solely as food for horses. The variety and quality of vegetables and fruit grown in the gardens and orchards wherever Europeans lived were not excelled in any country of the world.

In 1871 a very destructive disease, termed redwater, made its appearance among the horned cattle on the coast lands, and soon spread over the colony, almost paralysing for a time the transport of goods to the interior and causing great loss to the farmers.

During this period great progress was made in promoting education and in perfecting judicial institutions.

A high school and a common school were established in Maritzburg and in Durban, supported by the government, and schools of a less pretentious character, aided by public funds, were scattered over the colony. In 1872 besides the four purely government schools, there were seventy-six schools in Natal receiving aid from the treasury.

The recorder's court had been abolished, and by an ordinance passed in July 1857 a supreme court was established, consisting of a chief justice and two puisne judges, of whom two formed a quorum. One of the judges went periodically on circuit, as in the Cape Colony. The supreme court held its sessions at Maritzburg, with open doors, and the proceedings were conducted solely in the English language. It was provided with a master, a registrar, and a sheriff. Criminal cases were tried by one judge and a jury of nine men, the agreement of two-thirds of whom was necessary to convict. In civil cases, if the plaintiff or the defendant desired it, one judge and a jury could decide the matter. When cases of a value of over £20 were tried before the circuit court without a jury, there was an appeal to the supreme court; and in cases of great importance there was an appeal from the supreme court to the privy council in England.

On the 2nd of December 1862 the Klip River county was divided into two magisterial divisions: Ladysmith and Newcastle. In 1872 there were eleven resident magistrates carrying out justice within the colony.

In one respect there was retrogression to a slight extent. In June 1857 the ordinance of 1854 to establish county councils was repealed, as it was found that the European population was too scanty to maintain them efficiently.

The colony had been enlarged on the south by the addition of the land between the Umzimkulu and Umtamvuna rivers. Averse as the imperial government was at this period to any extension of its responsibilities in South Africa, the condition of this district was such that the measure could not be avoided. The Pondo chief Faku had been unable to reduce the clans there to subjection, and protested that he ought not to be held responsible for their conduct in accordance with the treaty that had been entered into with him.

On the 9th of December 1863 letters patent were drawn up at Westminster empowering the lieutenant-governor to

issue a proclamation annexing it. In 1865 the surveyor-general was directed in concert with Sir Walter Currie, commandant of the frontier armed and mounted police of the Cape Colony, to inspect the territory and lay down a convenient boundary. These gentlemen fixed upon a line commencing at the junction of the Ibisi river with the Umzimkulu and running thence to the nearest point of the ridge forming the watershed between the Ibisi and Umzimkulwana, thence along that ridge to the Ingele range, along the summit of that range to a large beacon which they erected at its western extremity, and thence straight to the nearest source of the Umtamvuna. On the 7th of September 1865 this boundary was proclaimed, and on the 13th of the same month the annexation was legally completed, though it was not until the 1st of January 1866 that the British flag was formally hoisted, and the residents in the territory—thereafter termed the county of Alfred—were informed that they were British subjects. They were so numerous in it that there was no vacant ground for European settlers. By this annexation the area of the colony was increased to 18,750 square miles, or 48,000 square kilometres.*

The Bantu at this period gave very little trouble. In June 1859 an ordinance was issued which prohibited the sale or gift of a gun or ammunition to any of them, under penalty of a fine not exceeding £50 and imprisonment with or without hard labour for any period not longer than two years. Under the same penalty every one of them was prohibited from possessing a gun or ammunition without the written permission of the lieutenant-governor. Charges of infringement of this ordinance could be tried in any magistrate's court, so that offenders could hardly escape punishment. By an ordinance of 1863 the sale of intoxi-

* Natal is now, in 1907, nearly double that size. By the annexation of Zululand and the territory to the southern Portuguese boundary over ten thousand square miles or twenty-five thousand nine hundred and twenty-one square kilometres were added to it, and by the incorporation of the district of Vryheid it gained another seven thousand square miles or eighteen thousand one hundred and forty-five square kilometres.

cating liquor to them was prohibited under penalty of a fine of £10 or three months imprisonment for each offence, which removed another source of danger.

On the 27th of April 1864 letters patent were issued at Westminster, by which the Bantu locations in Natal were placed under the permanent charge of a trust consisting of the lieutenant-governor and the executive council for the time being, who were to control everything connected with the ground for the benefit of the Bantu alone, so that it could not fall into the hands of Europeans. The locations, together with grants to mission societies for the use of black people, covered rather more than two million three hundred thousand acres of land. The locations were reserved entirely for the use of Bantu who lived in their old tribal manner under their own hereditary chiefs, over whom the lieutenant-governor since 1851 had occupied the position of supreme chief. In this capacity he exercised the right of calling out labourers for public works, issuing orders for this purpose to the respective chiefs, and fixing the number of men each one was to supply. This was in full accordance with Bantu custom, and only differed from ancient practice in that the labourers were now paid wages, though not at a high rate.

The right of calling out labourers from the locations for public works, especially for making roads, was one of the causes of the Bantu preferring to live on vacant crown lands or on ground hired from Europeans, where they would be free from this liability. Other causes operated in the same direction, and at the present day (1907) two hundred and sixty-six thousand Bantu are found on the forty-two locations and the mission reserves, and four hundred and twenty-one thousand on private property. A law made as far back as 1855 to prevent these people settling without leave on vacant land belonging either to the crown or to private individuals could not be enforced, and another law made in 1871 in which tenants on private land were dealt with remained also partly inoperative. The pressure of such an enormous mass of barbarians as had

been allowed to enter and settle in Natal was so great that the few white colonists were almost helpless before it.

The Bantu were not subject to European law, but under the influence of Christian missionaries some individuals among them had adopted civilised habits, and the number was constantly increasing. In 1872 there were nearly forty mission stations maintained by various societies within the borders of the colony, and the result of so much instruction, though not so great as might have been wished for, was plainly perceptible. A question thus arose as to the political position which those Bantu who had adopted a civilised mode of life should occupy. It was settled in such a manner as to encourage individuals to abandon the habits of barbarians, while avoiding the danger of giving political privileges to persons with only a thin veneer of civilisation.

Any black who was living as a monogamist in an orderly manner according to European ideas could petition to be exempted from Bantu law, and to be registered as subject to the colonial law alone. In 1865 it was enacted that any male black resident in Natal for twelve years and exempt from Bantu law for seven years, and who should procure a certificate from three electors of European origin, endorsed by a justice of the peace or the magistrate of the county in which he should be residing, testifying that they had known him for two years, that he was a well-disposed subject, and had never been convicted of felony, should, if he possessed the other ordinary qualifications, be entitled to petition the lieutenant-governor for a certificate enabling him to be registered as a voter.

Under this system a good many Bantu in course of time became exempt at their own request from the operation of the laws of their people, and the number who became entitled to the franchise was very small indeed, never exceeding half a dozen. Mixed breeds, however, and any other coloured people except pure Bantu and Indians, if they possessed the same property qualification as Europeans,

were entitled to the franchise, so that the electorate was never purely white colonial.

Mr. Keate's term of administration was marked by continual strife between the elected members of the council and the executive. For several years prior to 1865 the colony was supposed to be in a flourishing condition, and expensive civil establishments were created. The lieutenant-governor's salary, which had been originally only £800 a year, was raised to £2,500, and the other officials also obtained considerable increases. Subsequently, the colonists considered it necessary to reduce the expenditure; but the elected members of the council and the executive could never agree as to the manner in which retrenchment should be effected. The council claimed control over the revenue, and refused to adopt the estimates submitted by the government. Then occurred disputes and wranglings of no ordinary kind. Money which was voted for public works and other purposes was taken by the lieutenant-governor to pay the officials. The council argued that salaries had been raised when everything bore high prices, and as the cost of living was now reduced and the colony was in distress, it was only fair that the officials should receive less pay. Mr. Keate objected to retrenchment on a large scale, and did not even affect to feel sympathy with the people.

In 1869 the council requested the imperial authorities to allow six more elected members to be added to it, and to deprive the official members of the right of voting, limiting them to debate only. The expenditure was then in excess of the revenue, and to rectify this it was proposed to require the Bantu to contribute yearly at an average rate of four shillings each, to reduce the lieutenant-governor's salary to £1,800 a year, to amalgamate the offices of colonial secretary and secretary for native affairs, to reduce the salaries of those officers holding seats in the council by £100 per annum each, to reduce the salaries and pensions of the judges, and to effect retrenchment in various other ways.

These proposals were forwarded by Mr. Keate to the secretary of state for the colonies, who refused to sanction them, on the ground that the circumstances of Natal did not warrant a diminution of the power of the crown in the legislative body. "So long as her Majesty's troops remain in the colony," he wrote, "the home government must retain its control over the taxation and government of the natives and of all that falls under the head of native policy; and experience shows that this cannot be done without retaining an effectual control over all policy, whether European or native." But to make the acts of the executive government more popular, the lieutenant-governor was empowered to appoint to the executive council two of the elected members of the legislature, to hold their seats until the dissolution or other termination of the council from which they were selected.

The opposition was rather increased than diminished when this became known. The lieutenant-governor then dissolved the council and appealed to the people. With one exception, the same members were returned. But already the signs of prosperity resulting from the discovery of diamonds along the lower Vaal river were becoming visible, and the necessity for retrenchment was less urgent than before. The appointment by Mr. Keate of a commission to inquire into the adequacy of the civil service was accepted as an act of conciliation, and gradually matters became smoother. In 1871 the commission recommended the abolition of certain offices to which salaries amounting in all to upwards of £5,000 were attached, and the rearrangement of other salaries by which a yearly saving of £3,000 more would be effected. This retrenchment, however, was not carried out, and with the issue of a supplementary charter in 1872 the contentions between the executive and the legislature were renewed.

This charter was brought out by Mr. Anthony Musgrave, who took the oaths of office as lieutenant-governor on the 19th of July 1872. In it the salaries of the principal officers

were fixed and placed beyond the control of the council, and the power of that body was in other respects clearly defined. The elected members objected to it, on the ground that by removing a large portion of the expenditure beyond their control, rights were annulled which had been conferred upon them by the charter itself. In this view, it was not a supplementary charter, but a revocation of the charter. So there was much contention during the next few years.

After 1857 Natal became the scene of extensive speculations of a hazardous nature. Money was plentiful, for in rapid succession came branches of the Standard bank of British South Africa and of the London and South African bank, the Commercial and Agricultural bank of Natal, incorporated in August 1862 with a capital of £50,000, and the Colonial bank of Natal, founded in February 1862 and incorporated in September 1864 with a capital of £50,000, besides the old Natal bank, which in 1864 was empowered to increase its then existing capital of £120,000 to half a million. Private agencies were also engaged in the investment of English capital. A system prevailed of dealing on credit and by means of notes of hand which the banks readily discounted. Many sugar planters in particular borrowed large sums of money at exorbitant rates of interest, which they afterwards found themselves unable to pay. The great excess of imports over exports at this time shows the reckless manner in which the colonists were speculating, even after making full allowance for the capital expended in building up industries and improving estates.

A crisis came in 1865. One after another, planters failed and houses of business surrendered or compromised, until merchants in Great Britain became alarmed and stopped further supplies. Numbers of mechanics who had been attracted to the colony were thrown out of employment, poverty and distress stared many in the face, and the name of Natal sank low in the estimation of the commercial world. But the great crash paved the way for the introduction of a better and safer method of conducting business. Henceforth

credit was not so easily obtained without sufficient security, and when trade rallied again after a time, it was unaccompanied by the wild speculation of former days. The colony had passed the period of thoughtless extravagance, and was entering upon a term of vigorous, honest life.

The discovery of the diamond fields was an event of great importance to Natal. It opened a new and excellent market where high prices were obtained for all kinds of produce, and enabled the merchants to extend their trade in imported articles. Many of them established branches at the fields, where they competed successfully with others who imported their goods through Algoa Bay or East London. Natal sugar, coffee, arrowroot, jams, and tobacco could of course be sold at a good profit cheaper than similar articles brought through the Cape Colony, on which duty had been paid. Trains of waggons laden with produce crossed over the Drakensberg and through the Free State to the diamond fields, and took back money, thus giving an impetus to legitimate enterprise, both planting and commercial.

The want of a railroad from the port inland was recognised by the colonists, and plans for constructing one were frequently discussed in the council as well as by the press and people, but nothing definite was at this time agreed upon. In 1863 a line of electric telegraph had been opened between Durban and Maritzburg.

At this time Natal attracted the attention of the outside world more perhaps by ecclesiastical than by commercial transactions. In this little colony and among these few thousand Europeans a case arose on the issue of which depended the future relationship between the crown, the established church of England, and the episcopal churches in all the British possessions oversea. The right reverend Dr. Colenso had been distinguished ever since his arrival by a very warm attachment to the Bantu, combined with an untiring zeal for their improvement and an eloquent advocacy of what he regarded as their rights. As a colonial bishop, an author of numerous books in various branches of

mathematics, and a champion of the black tribes living in South-Eastern Africa, Dr. Colenso was known throughout the English speaking countries of the world.

He was to be yet more widely known by the publication of a work of biblical criticism, which he found time to write amidst such varied occupations as few men are capable of undertaking. The book was at once condemned as heretical by those Christians everywhere who termed themselves orthodox. Its author was called upon to retract the opinions he had expressed, and, upon his declining to do so, he was summoned by the metropolitan bishop of Capetown to appear before a court composed of all the South African bishops, to be tried on the charge of heresy.

Dr. Colenso then showed that a knowledge of law must be classed with his other attainments. Taking his stand upon the letters patent of the queen, he ignored the authority of the court of bishops, and when he was pronounced guilty of heresy and sentenced to be deposed, he declined to abide by the judgment. The highest tribunal in England, to which an appeal was made, maintained him in his position. The colonial churches were declared to be nothing more than voluntary associations, bound by no law to the established church of England, and in them no person could be compelled to yield obedience to another, unless a formal agreement to that effect had been made. The bishop of Natal was therefore not subject to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of any man or body of men, and as long as his partisans chose to recognise him he could not be deprived of his office.

In Natal itself a party seceded from Dr. Colenso, and elected as their bishop Dr. W. K. Macrorie, who was consecrated on the 25th of January 1869 in the cathedral church of Capetown, by the bishops of Capetown, Grahams-town, St. Helena, and the Orange Free State, and took the title of bishop of Maritzburg. His adherents styled themselves members of the church of the province of South Africa, in contradistinction to the adherents of the bishop

of Natal, who termed themselves members of the church of England. The property acquired before the disruption remained in the hands of Bishop Colenso, by decision of the civil courts, while Bishop Macrorie was mainly supported by English societies and foreign sympathisers.

In September 1869 an ordinance was passed, under which no clergymen of any denomination, excepting those already in receipt of salaries from the treasury, were thereafter to be paid by the state, though the grants in aid then existing were to be continued until the death or removal of their recipients.

On the 30th of July 1872 there were eight vessels at anchor in the roadstead at Port Natal, when a gale set in, and the barque *Grace Peile* was driven from her anchors and wrecked on the back beach. On the 31st the barque *Trinculo* went ashore at the same place, and after night-fall the schooners *Princess Alice* and *Breidablik* followed. No lives were lost, nor was much merchandise destroyed, as the wrecks, imbedded in sand, did not break up. The other four vessels rode out the gale.

The population of Natal in 1872 consisted of about 17,500 Europeans, 300,000 Bantu, and 5,800 Indians. No census had been taken, so that these figures cannot be given as absolutely correct.

Maritzburg, the capital, contained 3,250 Europeans, 1,500 Bantu, and 100 Indians. It had three banks and three cathedrals—Roman catholic, church of England, and church of the province of South Africa,—ten other churches, and several public buildings. An excellent supply of water ran in open furrows along its streets, which were shaded with trees that gave it a charming appearance.

Durban, the seaport, contained 3,500 Europeans, 1,900 Bantu, and 900 Indians. It possessed no fewer than fifteen churches of various denominations, four banks, several insurance offices and agencies, and, like Maritzburg, was the centre of numerous institutions, literary, commercial, and philanthropic.

The public revenue fluctuated considerably between 1857 and 1872, but was now steadily rising. In 1872 it amounted to £157,601, of which the Bantu contributed—including a small share of the customs—something over one fourth. The items from which it was derived were:—

Customs duties	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	£81,915
Hut-tax of 7s. on each hut	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	27,656
Fees on marriages of Bantu, £5 each, &c.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10,468
Excise duties	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7,807
Quitrents	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6,497
Postal receipts	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6,296
Transfer dues	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5,385
Fines and fees of office	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4,613
Port dues	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2,012
Stamps	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2,114
Auction dues	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,409
Miscellaneous	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,429
Total								£157,601

The public debt of the colony in 1872 was £263,000, of which £163,000 had been borrowed for the construction of harbour works.

The imperial government maintained a wing of a regiment in Natal, and the colonists furnished a most efficient body of volunteers. In 1872 there were five corps of volunteer cavalry, numbering together 417 men, and three corps of volunteer infantry, numbering 195 men.

The imports from the 1st of January 1857 to the 31st of December 1861 amounted in value to £1,334,974, from the 1st of January 1862 to the 31st of December 1866 to £2,232,999, from the 1st of January 1867 to the 31st of December 1871 to £1,869,314, and during the year 1872 to £825,252. Eighty-four per cent of the imports came from the United Kingdom, thirteen per cent from other British possessions, and only three per cent from foreign countries.

During the five years from the 1st of January 1857 to the 31st of December 1861 there were exported, according to the value declared at the customs:—

Ivory	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	£111,431
Sheep's wool	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	105,913
Butter	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	79,325
Hides, skins, horns, and bones	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	75,805
Sugar and molasses	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	64,866
Beans, peas, maize, and millet	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3,687
Arrowroot	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3,371
Ostrich feathers	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,930
All other articles, and imports exported	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	99,719

Total during five years £546,047

During the five years from the 1st of January 1862 to the 31st of December 1866 :—

Sheep's wool	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	£286,858
Sugar and molasses	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	284,663
Ivory	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	119,876
Butter	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	39,744
Ostrich feathers	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	38,957
Hides, skins, horns, and bones	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	35,640
Beans, maize, and other farm produce	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	24,156
Arrowroot	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	12,873
Cotton	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11,329
Live animals, chiefly horses	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4,488
Bacon, hams, salted meat, tallow, and lard	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2,381
Pepper	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,557
Specimens of natural history	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	848
Curiosities and karosses	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	831
Rum	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	706
Fruit	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	396
Coffee	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6

Total South African produce £865,309

Imports exported 52,407

£917,716

Or African produce at the rate of £173,062 a year.

During the five years from the 1st of January 1867 to the 31st of December 1871 :—

Sugar and molasses	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	£599,898
Sheep's wool	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	571,757

Carried forward £1,171,655

	Brought forward	£1,171,655
Hides, skins, horns, and bones	- - - -	256,682
Ivory	- - - -	51,674
Diamonds	- - - -	40,773
Ostrich feathers	- - - -	38,061
Butter	- - - -	35,418
Bacon, hams, salted meat, tallow, and lard	- -	31,250
Beans, maize, and other farm produce	- -	29,316
Arrowroot	- - - -	27,878
Cotton	- - - -	22,290
Coffee	- - - -	21,144
Live animals, chiefly horses	- - - -	10,333
Rum	- - - -	6,246
Pepper	- - - -	2,168
Curiosities and karosses	- - - -	1,555
Fruit	- - - -	1,347
Aloes	- - - -	1,277
Specimens of natural history	- - - -	1,214
Raw gold	- - - -	370
Angora hair	- - - -	168

Total South African produce £1,750,819

Imports exported 55,151

£1,805,970

Or African produce at the rate of £350,164 a year.

During the year 1872:—

Sheep's wool	- - - -	£254,495
Sugar and molasses	- - - -	153,978
Hides, skins, horns, and bones	- - - -	137,629
Diamonds	- - - -	10,884
Ostrich feathers	- - - -	9,745
Ivory	- - - -	9,392
Coffee	- - - -	8,516
Cotton	- - - -	6,050
Arrowroot	- - - -	5,647
Butter	- - - -	5,178
Bacon, salted meat, tallow, and lard	- - -	1,420
Live animals, chiefly horses	- - - -	1,387
Rum	- - - -	1,227

Carried forward £605,548

	Brought forward	£605,548
Beans, maize, and other farm produce - - -	- - -	981
Raw gold - - - - -	- - -	925
Aloes - - - - -	- - -	532
Angora hair - - - - -	- - -	422
Pepper - - - - -	- - -	313
Specimens of natural history - - -	- - -	283
Fruit - - - - -	- - -	259
Curiosities and karosses - - - -	- - -	161

Total South African produce £609,424

Imports exported 13,373

£622,797

Sixty-nine per cent of the exports were sent to the United Kingdom, twenty-nine per cent to other British possessions, chiefly the Cape Colony and Mauritius, and only two per cent to foreign countries.

Towards the close of the year 1872 the old Zulu chief Panda died, and was succeeded by his son Ketshwayo. Panda had always preserved peace with Natal as well as with the South African Republic, but many persons were doubtful whether Ketshwayo, who was a far more aspiring man, would act in the same manner. After the great slaughter which followed his victory over his brother Umbulazi on the 2nd of December 1856, several thousands of his opponents managed to make their way across the Tugela, and were given shelter by the authorities there. Among them was one of his own half-brothers, named Umkunku, a man of very little note, however, who had even been permitted to purchase land in the colony and settle on it with his followers. It was now feared by many persons that Ketshwayo might try to make a quarrel for the purpose of taking revenge for the protection given to his opponents, but he conducted himself in such a manner as soon to allay all fear of war, and the colonists were then able to pursue their ordinary avocations in quietness.

CHAPTER LXXI.

EVENTS IN THE ORANGE FREE STATE FROM 1859 TO 1862.

AMONG the Bantu chiefs of South Africa Moshesh stands out prominently as the most intelligent and the most humane. Like Tshaka he built up a great power by his own ability, but he did it without that vast sacrifice of human life which marked the career of the Zulu despot. Alone among barbarian leaders, he had risen more by conciliating than by crushing his opponents. At the head of a mixed tribe, many members of which had once been cannibals, and many others refugees from robber hordes, he had favoured the introduction of the arts of civilisation and had befriended and encouraged European missionaries. No other South African chief was so capable as he of forming and carrying out elaborate plans for the advantage of his people, none could weigh opposing forces so carefully, none knew so well how to turn every opportunity to good account.

But with all this, Moshesh had not, and could not in reason be expected to have, the higher virtues of Europeans. At no period of his life had he any regard whatever for his promises. He lost nothing, either in self-respect or in the opinion of his people, by breaking faith with others. He signed the treaty of 1858 to avoid the displeasure of Sir George Grey, but as there was no force to compel him to observe it, he made no effort to carry out its provisions. The plundering of the border farmers went on as before. Hunting parties continued to traverse the Free State, without troubling themselves to ask permission from a landdrost, though Mr. Boshof offered to place every facility in their way if they would comply with a few simple and necessary regulations.

Sir George Grey had seen, when arranging the terms of the treaty, that Jan Letele's presence on the frontier was a formidable obstacle to the preservation of peace between Moshesh's people and the farmers. The upper portion of the district below the Drakensberg, which was then called Nomansland, and is now known as Griqualand East, was regarded by Sir George Grey as being at his disposal, and he proposed to give land in it to Jan Letele and Lehana, the son of Sikonyela. The last named was the head of the Batlokua in the Wittebergen reserve, where there was not sufficient room for him, and where his presence caused much jealousy.

But this plan of the governor, though favourably received by Letele and Lehana, was frustrated by the action of Moshesh. It was only natural that the great chief should be averse to the establishment of a rival Basuto tribe beyond the mountains, which would draw from him disaffected subjects and seriously weaken his power. For many years he had been in close communication with Faku, who had offered him the vacant district, a contingency entirely unforeseen by Sir Peregrine Maitland when he acknowledged the Pondo chief as its owner. As soon therefore as the rumour of Sir George Grey's plan reached Moshesh's ears, measures were taken to counteract it, but in such a manner that the governor should have no suspicion that he was being thwarted.

To this end Nehemiah met Sir George Grey at Morija, and professing that he was not on good terms with his father, requested that he also might have a location in Nomansland. The governor was not disposed either to grant or refuse the request without further consideration, and told Nehemiah to write to him after his return to Capetown. As this would cause delay, however, Moshesh's son decided to move at once, and before the close of 1858 he was established with about seventy men on the western bank of the Umzimvubu, near the source of that river. A little later, when returning to the Lesuto for the purpose of

inducing a larger number of people to join him, he wrote to the governor that he "would be very thankful if his Excellency would inform others who might wish to press in that his child Nehemiah had already settled in the new country with his good will." Of course, with Nehemiah on the Umzimvubu, Jan Letele made no attempt to settle in Nomansland, and when in the following year Lehana went to inspect the district he was deterred from moving his people into it by the threats of some Pondonsi chiefs who were then acting in concert with Nehemiah.

The volksraad of the Free State, though considering that the treaty was all to the advantage of Moshesh, approved of the acts of their commissioners, and tendered their thanks to Sir George Grey for the trouble he had taken. The farmers were not permitted to return to the Basuto side of the new boundary, and were compensated for their losses as far as possible by grants of land in the Beersheba district. The French mission society petitioned for a larger area than the six thousand acres secured to it in the treaty, but the volksraad declined to comply with the request, and further resolved to protect the friendly headman Mooi there, and not permit him to be forced out by the pressure of Moeletsi's Basuto.

In February 1859 President Boshof sent a deputation to Moshesh to represent to him that on account of the constant robberies and violence of the followers of Molitsane and Poshuli the farms along the Winburg and Caledon river borders were abandoned, and to urge him to act in conformity with the treaty. Messrs. Schnehage and Meyer, the members of the deputation, met with a friendly reception at Thaba Bosigo and from the chiefs along the route, but obtained no satisfactory reply from Moshesh, who merely desired that a meeting of Poshuli, Letele, Mr. Boshof, and himself should take place. The great chief, in turn, sent five deputies to Bloemfontein, but when they had an interview with the volksraad they declared that they were without authority, having been merely instructed to listen.

In despair of being able to overcome the difficulties in which the republic was now involved, on the 21st of February 1859 Mr. Boshof again tendered his resignation. The volksraad earnestly requested him to continue in office, declaring their entire confidence in him, and expressing the opinion that his retirement would be most disastrous to the country. He, however, obtained six months' leave of absence to visit Natal, and Mr. Esaias Rynier Snyman was appointed acting president. On the 25th of June Mr. Boshof sent a final letter of resignation from Natal, which the volksraad, at an extraordinary session held in September, was obliged to accept. Mr. Snyman was then requested to retain the acting appointment until an election could take place and the new president be installed.

The volksraad recommended to the burghers only one person, Mr. Jacobus Johannes Venter, and decided that the election should be held on the 15th of December. According to the original constitution of the state, this would have been equivalent to the appointment of Mr. Venter; but in 1856 an ordinance had been passed, under which the burghers could vote for any person as president who should receive a requisition signed by twenty-five qualified electors, provided such requisition with a reply accepting it were published in the *State Gazette* four full weeks before the day of election. The recommendation of Mr. Venter therefore merely signified that he was the volksraad's candidate, and the people could choose another if they felt disposed to do so.

It would be wearisome to enter minutely into events on the Basuto border during the time that Mr. Snyman was acting president of the Free State. Sometimes there was a lull in the thefts, but there never was any security for property in cattle. Meetings were held between representatives of both sides—one in May 1859, another in January 1860—without any good result. Moshesh said plainly that he would redress no wrongs until Jan Letele, who lost no opportunity of robbing his people, was compelled to give up

the spoil or placed under his jurisdiction. The reception of this vagabond as a subject of the Free State was a very sore point with the great chief. But Mr. Snyman's government could not in honour either surrender or abandon him, and it had no means of keeping him in order.

The most important events at this time were accessions of territory which added considerably to the strength of the republic. The location along the Vaal belonging to Goliath Yzerbek had been obtained by purchase, that of Scheel Kobus was taken possession of after his defeat and death, and in 1859 that of David Danser was acquired by an agreement with his successor Jan Danser, in which that captain sold out and moved away for a payment of £100. Jan Bloem's people had nearly abandoned their location. The Berlin society had again occupied Pniel, but the jurisdiction of the Free State was now unquestioned over the whole of the former Korana and Bushman reserves, and the larger portion of the area was waste government land open for occupation by burghers.

In 1833 the reverend Mr. Pellissier, of the French society, had led a Batlapin clan under the chief Lepui from the neighbourhood of Kuruman to the junction of the Caledon and the Orange, and had taken possession of the tract of country there which has ever since been known as the district of Bethulie. For nearly a quarter of a century hardly anything was heard except in mission reports of Lepui and his people. They did not interfere with their neighbours, nor did their neighbours with them. They took no part in any of the wars of the country. Moshesh claimed no jurisdiction over them, and their only connection with outsiders was the connection of their missionary with those of the same society labouring in the Lesuto.

This happy condition was terminated by a quarrel between the missionary and the chief. Each then claimed the ownership of the district, and ignored the other. The people of Lepui with his sanction offered a large portion of their vacant land for sale, and when some farmers made

purchases Mr. Pellissier protested. Notwithstanding his protests the sales were carried out. Mr. Pellissier then, on the 24th of January 1859, offered the Free State government to cede the sovereignty of Bethulie to it on condition that the ground should remain a reserve for Bantu under control of the Paris Evangelical Society. This offer was declined, but ten days later—2nd of February 1859—Lepui made a formal application to President Boshof to be taken with his subjects and territory under the laws and government of the Orange Free State.

Owing to Mr. Boshof's retirement, several months elapsed without any steps being taken on this application, but on the 8th of October Acting President Snyman entered into an arrangement with Lepui by which Bethulie became part of the Free State. In deference to Mr. Pellissier some concessions were made, and he was understood as giving his consent to the agreement, but after its ratification by the volksraad on the 13th of February 1860 he protested against it, complained to Sir George Grey, and even urged the French consul in Capetown to interfere to prevent any portion of the district being occupied by white people; but all to no purpose.

Private rights of course remained intact, and even the unoccupied ground was still considered the property of the clan. But as the territory was in a good position, numerous farmers from the Cape Colony were ready to purchase ground in it, and the people of Lepui were just as ready to sell. The clan at this time divided into two sections, the larger of which, under Lepui's son Koro, moved away to Basutoland. Moshesh gladly received the new-comers, and gave them ground to live upon at Korokoro, where a Roman Catholic mission was afterwards established. In a few months the whole of the district of Bethulie, excepting only about twenty-five thousand morgen round the French mission station, was sold and in occupation of European farmers. The executive council of the Free State then allotted ten thousand morgen of what remained to the Paris Evangelical

Society, including in the grant the gardens and ground on which the mission buildings were erected.

On the 15th of February 1860 the volksraad declared Bethulie a district of the Orange Free State, with rights of representation and a landdrost's court of its own. Mr. J. F. van Iddekinge was appointed its first landdrost. Later in the same year Lepui exchanged the fifteen thousand morgen of land remaining in his possession for a location in the district of Smithfield. This ground was then divided into four farms and building lots for a village with a commonage of six thousand morgen. The sale of the farms and building lots took place in June 1862, when the highest prices ever paid for ground north of the Orange were obtained. Louw Wepener, whose name was to be renowned in later times, was the purchaser of one of the farms.

In February 1858 the volksraad resolved to establish a landdrost's court at Boshof, for the convenience of the inhabitants of the western part of the state. The new district took the name of the village which was its seat of magistracy. On the 3rd of July Mr. A. H. Jacobs was installed as the first landdrost.

In the extreme north of the state another district was formed in the following year, by cutting off a portion of Winburg. The new district was called Kroonstad. On the 30th of August 1859 the volksraad authorised the acting president to station a landdrost at the village of Kroonstad, where previously there had been a special justice of the peace. Mr. Willem Christiaan Peeters was appointed the first landdrost, and assumed duty on the 19th of November. Eleven days later the residents of the new district, who were dissatisfied with the landdrost, rose against him and drove him away. So weak was the government at the time that it was unable to restore him.

On the 3rd of March 1860 the first building lots were sold in the present village of Bethlehem. Messrs. Paul Naude, Daniel Malan, and Jan Muller, three residents in the neighbourhood, combined and purchased the farm

Pretorius Kloof, with a view of establishing a church upon it. Their plan was carried out, the necessary buildings being erected in the following year by means of funds obtained by the sale of plots of ground and by subscription. In this manner many villages in South Africa have been founded. First a church is built, then a clergyman takes up his residence close by, and is accompanied by a schoolmaster; elderly farmers follow, to be near the church and to provide a home for their grandchildren attending the school; shopkeepers and mechanics come next; and finally the government considers it necessary to have a collector of taxes and a dispenser of justice in the place. It now takes rank as a village, and, if its situation is a good one, in course of time it becomes a district town. In March 1864, four years after its foundation, Bethlehem was provided with a resident justice of the peace.

The party in the Free State that regarded union with the South African Republic as the only solution of their difficulties with Moshesh rejected the candidate for the presidency recommended by the volksraad, and turned to Mr. Marthinus Wessel Pretorius as their natural leader. Mr. Pretorius was president of the South African Republic. By the advice of his friends there he accepted the requisition, and upon his election by a majority of twelve hundred and eighty-two votes against three hundred and ten divided among four other candidates, he applied to the volksraad which met at Potchefstroom on the 2nd of February 1860 for six months leave of absence. This being granted, he at once left for Bloemfontein. On the 8th of February 1860 he took the oath as president of the Free State, stipulating, however, that his term of office should be undefined, though not longer than the five years mentioned in the constitution.

At this time a large majority of the inhabitants of the three independent territories—the South African Republic, the Republic of Lydenburg, and the Orange Free State—were in favour of union, either under a federal govern-

ment or by the formation of a single state with one volksraad and one executive. There was nothing to prevent the two former uniting or not, as they pleased, but there was a serious obstacle in the way of the Orange Free State joining the others.

In September 1858, when the treaty with the Basuto was being arranged at Aliwal North, the Free State deputation had conferred with Sir George Grey upon this matter. His Excellency informed them that the effect would be the annulling of the conventions. Great Britain would probably decline to enter into a new convention with the consolidated state, or, if she did, would refuse to insert the clauses relative to having no treaties with Bantu or other tribes, forbidding the supply of ammunition to them, and guaranteeing an open market in ammunition to the Europeans.

When the volksraad met at Bloemfontein on the 22nd of November 1858, this subject came on for discussion. The views of the members were diverse. Some were in favour of federation with the Cape Colony, others in favour of union with the South African Republic, others again advocated an offensive and defensive alliance with either the colony or the republic. Numerous signed memorials were read in support of all these views. The first was strongly advocated by President Boshof, who was inclined even to favour unification, or the absolute incorporation of the Free State in the Cape Colony, as the interests of the two countries were identical. At that time it was hoped by some that Moshesh would respect the treaty just concluded and that Jan Letele could be kept in order. But these hopes had afterwards vanished, the authorities in England were opposed to extension of the British dominions in any way, and in consequence the advocates for union with the Transvaal people had increased in number.

On the 31st of August 1859 the volksraad adopted a resolution to send a commission to the government of the South African Republic to endeavour to arrange terms either

of union or alliance, which should afterwards be submitted to the people for approval. Nothing came of this, however, for the election of Mr. Pretorius so soon afterwards gave another direction to the movement.

On the 9th of February 1860, the day following that on which Mr. Pretorius became president of the Free State, the volksraad resolved to submit the question of union to the direct vote of the people, and if a majority should be found to favour it to apply to the British government for information as to the terms of a new convention. This resolution was carried out, with the result that in the whole state one thousand and seventy-six votes were given for union and one hundred and four against. The volksraad then resolved that this result should be communicated to the government of the South African Republic, and that a commission, consisting of Messrs. J. J. Venter, J. N. Uys, and J. Klopper, should proceed to Potchefstroom and confer with the authorities there.

The commission proceeded to carry out its instructions, and a conference took place with the executive council of the South African Republic, then consisting of Mr. J. H. Grobbelaar, acting president during the absence of Mr. Pretorius, Mr. S. Schoeman, commandant-general, Mr. J. H. Struben, state secretary, and Mr. W. Janse van Rensburg, unofficial member. Mr. M. W. Pretorius was present by general request. But now the people of the north were found less eager than they had once been for a single state. It would be purchased too dearly, they said, if the price was to be the conventions with the British government. The executive council of the South African Republic held that the Sand River convention must be preserved inviolate. If that could be done and a single state be formed they would be very glad, otherwise a friendly alliance was all that they were prepared for.

With this, the efforts to bring about the union of the republics may be said to have ceased, although the unionist party long hoped that Mr. Pretorius would be able to devise

some plan by which this project could be carried into effect.

Many Free State burghers who were not disposed to join the South African Republic, or who were indifferent to that project, had voted for the new president because he was the son of the famous emigrant leader who had broken the Zulu power, and because he had the reputation of considerable ability in dealing with coloured tribes. His strength lay in his disposition to conciliate, but he lacked the firmness necessary to a leader in troublous times.

As soon as possible after his assumption of office, President Pretorius proceeded to Kroonstad, where the burghers had recently been in rebellion owing to the appointment of a very unpopular man as landdrost. His reception was most cordial, for the district was occupied by the staunchest adherents of the unionist party. He left there Mr. Lodewyk J. Papenfus as provisional landdrost, and the volksraad during its next session confirmed the appointment.

Next the president arranged to have a personal conference with Moshesh. The meeting took place during the first five days of May, at Wonderkop, in the district of Winburg, and was made an occasion of festivity as well as of diplomatic intercourse. Moshesh came attended by his sons, vassals, and a body-guard of six thousand horsemen; Mr. Pretorius, to show his confidence in the great chief, would not permit more than twenty farmers to accompany him. Long speeches were made in the most friendly manner by the chief and his leading vassals, who acknowledged that their existence as a powerful tribe was due to the white people. Mr. Pretorius proposed to "Old Father Moshesh," as he termed him, to establish a combined European and Basuto tribunal on the border for the trial of thieves, and to support it with a body of Basuto police. To this the chief at once assented. It was agreed that the court should be stationed at Merumetsu, which place should thenceforth lose its old name and be called on this account "Ha-bo' Khotso," the Abode of Peace. A treaty to this

effect was drawn up and signed on the 4th of May. Thereafter the principal men on both sides dined together, when complimentary toasts were drunk, and Moshesh's educated sons sang English songs. The following morning the president reviewed the Basuto cavalry, and witnessed a grand dance, in which Moshesh himself took part. The meeting then broke up, and the farmers returned to their homes elated with hope that their troubles with the Basuto were at last at an end.

In a very few weeks that hope was lost. The aborigines in the district between the lower Caledon and the Orange had never been wholly exterminated, though possession of the land was so fiercely disputed by white men and Basuto. After the war of 1858, Poshuli constituted himself the patron of such Bushmen as remained, and furnished them with horses and guns, upon condition of receiving a portion of their plunder. He allowed them to live on his mountain, Vechtkop, which by the treaty of 1858 had become part of the Lesuto. There they served him as spies and sentinels, giving notice of approaching danger. The depredations of these robbers were frequently brought to the notice of Moshesh, whose reply was always that the Bushmen were not his subjects, and that the white people were at liberty to follow them up and punish them in his territories. In March 1860 a party of burghers accordingly pursued the Bushmen, but found that to attack them was to attack Poshuli also, and that there was no possibility of capturing them while under Basuto protection.

This was one of the questions brought forward at the Wonderkop conference, when Moshesh undertook to have the Bushmen removed from Vechtkop within ten days. He did not keep his engagement, however, and on the 20th of June these robbers, with some of Poshuli's Basuto, attacked and plundered a farmhouse during the absence of the head of the family, murdered a boy, and severely wounded two women and three children, the only other occupants. Mr. Pretorius immediately mustered a patrol, and followed the

robbers to Vechtkop, where six of them were shot; but the remainder escaped with the greater portion of the booty. The president then requested Moshesh to cause the stolen property to be restored and the murderers of the boy to be given up to the Free State authorities for trial, and also to inflict upon Poshuli such punishment as his crimes deserved. The great chief paid but little regard to this request, so it became evident to the burghers that the prospect of tranquillity which the Wonderkop conference gave for a moment would not be realised.

In August 1860 his royal highness Prince Alfred, when on a tour through South Africa, was waited upon by Moshesh at Aliwal North. The great chief was accompanied by twenty-five of his captains and an escort of three hundred men. To the prince he professed the most unbounded loyalty, and he did not hesitate to declare that in all his troubles he had been faithful in his allegiance to the queen. In somewhat vague language he asked that he might be restored to the position he occupied under the Napier treaty. This request, made by Moshesh to the colonial government, sometimes in one form sometimes in another, meant merely a desire on his part for such a relationship between the governor and himself as existed between him and one of his great vassals; it meant that he should be countenanced and patronised, without being subjected to control in the administration of the affairs of his tribe. It was not then known exactly what Moshesh wished, but this much was ascertained a little later, after an application which he made to the high commissioner towards the close of the following year.

At the beginning of April 1861 another conference took place between the president and the great chief, which lasted three days, and was conducted in a very friendly manner. It was held at Mabilela, the residence of Moperi, near Platberg. The establishment of a mixed court on the border was again referred to, when Moshesh professed once more to fall in with the president's views, but desired that

some other place than Merumetsu should be selected. Mr. Pretorius made no objection to this, and the chief and his counsellors promised to give effect to the late treaty.

The Basuto were then in occupation of many farms in the district of Winburg, and ignored altogether the boundary of the treaty of 1858. This matter was discussed at Mabilela, and Moshesh undertook to recall his people from farms belonging to burghers of the Free State, but he was careful not to admit that he had any knowledge of the line.

The boundary between the Free State and the Lesuto from Jammerberg Drift to Paul Smit's Berg was, however, arranged between the two parties, by a slight modification of the old line of Major Warden, in favour of Moshesh. But it was impossible to satisfy every one concerned in defining limits to territory. In this instance Moroko felt himself aggrieved, and complained that land equal to two full-sized farms had been taken from him.

This chief—Moroko—had always been held in great regard by the white people, partly on account of the assistance he had given to the early emigrants, but mainly owing to his inoffensive disposition. He was considered upright and honourable in his dealings, though intellectually inferior to Moshesh. Mr. Boshof had placed such confidence in him that no restraint was put upon his obtaining as much ammunition as he pleased, but Mr. Pretorius, in his desire not to offend Moshesh, had seen fit to place some restrictions upon this trade. Thereupon Moroko felt doubly aggrieved. The volksraad, however, as soon as these matters were brought before it, took steps to rectify them, for the members were anxious to keep on good terms with the Barolong.

The settlement of Nehemiah in Nomansland brought the Basuto into collision with the section of the Pondomsi tribe under Umbali, between whom and Faku, the ally of Moshesh, there was a long-standing feud. In 1860 hostilities broke out, but the operations were on a very petty

scale. In June of the following year Masupha and Poshuli went to Nehemiah's assistance with a large body of warriors, but were drawn into an ambuscade, and lost nearly all their horses, many guns, and thirty or forty men. The jealousy of his brothers which was felt by Letsie prevented further assistance being sent across the Drakensberg, and Nehemiah's influence there was consequently much weakened from this time forward. In February 1861 he had again requested Sir George Grey to "concur in his retention" of the district in which he had settled, but the governor made no reply to his letter.

Since Messrs. Casalis, Arbousset, and Gossellin first made their appearance in the Lesuto, a generation had grown up, and the results of the teaching of these missionaries and those who followed them were perceptible everywhere in the country, for indirectly nearly the whole mass of the population had been affected by their presence. Clothing, ironware, saddlery, &c., of English manufacture, had come largely into use, the value of such articles, first appreciated on mission stations, having soon been recognised by residents in kraals where the doctrines of Christianity had found no entrance. A considerable trade was carried on in the Lesuto by colonists who exchanged goods imported from England for wool, hides, millet, and even wheat. Unfortunately the French missionaries and English traders were not the only Europeans in the Lesuto. A number of renegades, deserters from the army, vagrants, and men of abandoned character, had taken up their abode in the country, and were teaching its people the vices of their class. They were engaged in various kinds of fraud, carried on a contraband trade in guns and ammunition, manufactured gunpowder, trafficked in stolen horses, and generally set a wretched example of debauchery and crime.

In September 1861 Mr. Van Soelen, landdrost of Bloemfontein, was sent to Thaba Bosigo as a special commissioner from the Free State government to ascertain from Moshesh when he would keep his promise to remove the Basuto from

the district of Winburg, and if he agreed to certain regulations drawn up by the Free State attorney-general for the establishment of the mixed court on the border.

Moshesh felt himself at that time in a position of security. Sir George Grey, of whose penetrating eye he had always stood in awe, had left South Africa. The Basuto were supplied with as many rifles and as much ammunition as they required, and though they had not succeeded in an attempt which they made to manufacture cannon, they had been able to procure several serviceable fieldpieces. With all the neighbouring tribes of any consequence they were on terms of close friendship.

Under these circumstances Moshesh spoke what he meant without any reservation or deception. He would not acknowledge a boundary line, nor had he any intention of withdrawing his subjects from the Winburg farms. As for the court at Ha-bo' Khotso, he rejected it altogether. Mr. Pretorius, he said, was free to have a police force in his own country and among his own people if he wished. But no courts excepting those of their own chiefs were needed by the Basuto.

This would seem to be a plain issue, but the republic was quite unable to enforce its rights. Moshesh's reply to Mr. Van Soelen signified not only that he set the Free State at defiance, but that he would keep neither treaties nor promises when it suited him to break them.

Notwithstanding the disturbed condition of the Basuto border, the country was making rapid advances in prosperity. In the west the population was increasing so steadily that in February 1861 the volksraad resolved to form another district south of Boshof, to which the name Jacobsdal was given.

At the close of this year a purchase of land was effected which added greatly to the stability of the state. Ever since 1854 individual Griqua proprietors in the district between the Riet and the Orange had been selling farms to Europeans. The new occupants, who were mostly emigrants from

the Cape Colony, came immediately under the jurisdiction of the landdrost of Fauresmith, and after six months residence became burghers of the Free State. Adam Kok retained exclusive control over the Griquas in the district, and his government kept possession of all the unappropriated land. An idle Griqua, who made little or no use of the six or seven thousand acres of ground which he called his farm, could not resist the temptation of a couple of hundred golden sovereigns or a lot of showy merchandise which he could at once enjoy. The time was thus quickly approaching when the Griquas must be paupers if they remained where they were.

It had been found impossible to maintain the petty states created by the Napier and Maitland treaties. But the treaties had been made, and it could not be disputed that they gave the coloured tribes who had been parties to them strong claims to the consideration of the British authorities in South Africa. Adam Kok had on more than one occasion fought side by side with English troops. He had done nothing to deserve abandonment. The cancellation by Sir George Clerk of the treaties with him, leaving the argument for its necessity in abeyance, was indisputably a violent act.

Sir George Grey felt that he was morally bound to do something for Kok and his Griquas. He therefore offered them a large and fertile tract of country along the head waters of the Umzimhlava and Umzimvubu rivers. They sent a party to inspect it, and upon receipt of a favourable report they prepared to move. There was no lack of purchasers for the farms that were left between the Riet and Orange rivers. There was such competition for them, indeed, that in many instances they brought remarkably high prices, for their position was far from Bantu locations.

After all the ground in possession of private individuals was sold, the Griqua clan, numbering about three thousand souls, including the followers of the late captain Cornelis Kok and a good many blacks of different tribes who had

recently joined them, moved off in a body towards their new home; but they did not arrive at Mount Currie, close to the present village of Kokstad, until January 1863. The interval was spent on the border of the Lesuto, where overtures were made to Kok to occupy the new country as a vassal of Moshesh. When he rejected these advances Poshuli's followers began to plunder him, and he had hardly been in his new home a month when he was obliged to write to the high commissioner complaining of Nehemiah. The object of the Basuto chiefs was to compel the Griquas to become Moshesh's subjects or to leave the country.

On the 8th of June 1863 Nehemiah again wrote to the high commissioner asking for a chart of the district, and stating that "Moshesh was satisfied on account of her Majesty's government having formally ceded the territory to his son." Almost simultaneously Sir Philip Wodehouse received a letter from Adam Kok informing him that Nehemiah had incited several of the petty chiefs on Faku's border to attack him, and that Poshuli had crossed over to share in the plunder. Reports from the colonial officers on the frontier left no doubt of the correctness of Kok's statement. The high commissioner determined not to interfere, but to let the disputing parties fight their quarrel out. On the 4th of August he wrote to Nehemiah declining to furnish a map and denying that the country had ever been ceded to him by her Majesty's government, and then he left matters to take their course.

All through 1863 and 1864 the quarrel continued, without either side gaining an advantage. In 1864 Lehana with some of his followers moved into Nomansland from the Wittebergen reserve, and joined his forces to those of Kok.

In March 1865 the Griquas made a supreme effort, and succeeded in driving the robber bands of Nehemiah and Poshuli from their fastnesses. These marauders managed, however, to get their cattle and effects safely into the Lesuto. In May they swooped down with a large force and secured a considerable quantity of plunder, but before they

could get away with it they were attacked by the Griquas and were routed, when most of their followers were made prisoners. This event compelled them to abandon the country below the mountains, and for several years Moshesh's followers made no further attempt to occupy it. The Griquas then settled in the present districts of Kokstad and Umzimkulu, where each head of a family had a cattle-run of the usual size allotted to him.

On the 26th of December 1861 Adam Kok and his council, through their agent Henry Harvey, signed a document whereby all the unappropriated land, together with the sovereign rights over the whole of their possessions north of the Orange, were ceded to the Free State, in consideration of a payment of four thousand pounds sterling.

This purchase gave the Free State a great accession of strength, and it solved a question that had been a cause of irritation for twenty years. In the next session of the volksraad it was resolved that a special justice of the peace should be stationed at Philippolis, and that the landdrost of Fauresmith should hold a court there once a month. But the president was authorised, in case this arrangement should not be found satisfactory, to station a landdrost there and form a new district. This was the course adopted by Mr. Pretorius, and on the 22nd of April 1862 Mr. J. F. van Iddekinge was appointed first landdrost of the new district of Philippolis. Six months later he was succeeded by Mr. Frederik K. Höhne.

The Free State therefore at this date was divided into the districts of Winburg, Bloemfontein, Smithfield, Harrismith, Fauresmith, Boshof, Kroonstad, Bethulie, Jacobsdal, and Philippolis. Bethulie and Jacobsdal were subsequently for a short time made sub-districts, for the sake of economy; but this arrangement was merely temporary.

In the early days of 1862 the district between the Orange and the lower Caledon was convulsed by disturbances more serious than any which had previously taken place. On the night of the 3rd of January two of Poshuli's captains,

with Moshesh's concurrence, crossed the boundary and attacked Jan Letele's clan, killed several of his people, set fire to his kraals, and drove off the whole of his cattle. The farmers in the neighbourhood were in great alarm, and abandoning their homesteads, they went into lager as fast as possible. A despatch was sent with all haste to the president at Bloemfontein. Mr. Pretorius at once proceeded to Smithfield, where he found men gathering in arms from the country far and near. Jan Letele was threatening immediate retaliation, in which case a general war could hardly be prevented. Already this vagabond was driving the partisans of Moshesh from the mission station Beersheba. The traders were hurrying from the Lesuto, believing their lives to be in danger.

At that time Mr. Joseph M. Orpen, who had long since left the service of the Free State, was residing at Beersheba. This gentleman was known throughout South Africa as a personal friend of Moshesh and a staunch supporter of what he held to be Basuto interests. For some years his influence at Thaba Bosigo was greater than that of any other white man, not even excepting the old missionaries, with whose views regarding the tribe he was in general accord.

On this occasion he resolved to prevent a war, if possible, with which object he hastened to Moshesh's residence. The chief himself was not desirous of pushing the matter further, for he was always anxious to make it appear that his opponents were the first to break the peace, and in this instance it was clear that he could not do so. Mr. Orpen advised him to attach his seal to a letter to the president, proposing a friendly settlement and promising to restrain his followers from attacking Letele; and to forward it by two members of his own family, who should remain with Mr. Pretorius as pledges of his sincerity. To this Moshesh agreed. His son Tsekelo and a young man of Letsie's household were sent as hostages, and their arrival at the president's headquarters was followed by an immediate cessation of the excitement that had up to that moment prevailed.

Mr. Pretorius received Moshesh's overtures with great satisfaction. He replied that he found much to blame on the part of Letele, and that he had placed an officer in charge of this chief, who would not in future be permitted to cross the border. He announced his intention of appointing a commission to investigate the causes of the disturbances, and invited the great chief's coöperation.

The commission consisted of Messrs. Charles Sirr Orpen, Robert Finlay, Pieter Wessels, Jan Olivier, Job Harvey, and A. Swanepoel. After taking evidence during a fortnight, on the 5th of February they sent in a report, which was most damaging to Jan Letele. The robberies from the Basuto of Moshesh committed by his retainers were proved to exceed in value those committed by the Basuto of Moshesh from him. A number of degraded white men were found to be mixed up in these proceedings. They encouraged robbers on both sides by acting as disposers of stolen property, diverting to themselves the larger portion of the ill-gotten gains. The commission recommended as the only effectual remedy the removal of Jan Letele's people from the border, the allotment of ample lands elsewhere for their maintenance, and the establishment of a powerful police. But this implied resources in men and money which the Free State had not then at its command. What was possible to be done in that direction by a community so small, so jealous of its rulers, and so averse to taxation, was attempted. A few policemen were engaged, and an officer—Daniel Foley by name—was appointed with the title of superintendent, to endeavour to exercise some control over the blacks between the Orange and the Caledon.

Jan Letele never fully recovered from the losses he sustained on this occasion. In 1863 he was invited to remove to the northern part of the state, where he was offered an ample tract of excellent land; but he declined the proposal. In the course of the next two years a good many of his followers, finding that he was no longer the lucky robber captain he had formerly been, abandoned him and went over

to one or other of Moshesh's vassals. He and a little band of adherents remained behind to be a source of constant anxiety to the Free State government. We shall meet him again in this history, but never more in a condition to play an important part in the disturbances of the country.

On the 15th of January 1862, while the occurrences just related were filling all minds with anxiety, Sir Philip Wodehouse arrived at Capetown and assumed office as governor of the colony and her Majesty's high commissioner in South Africa. Twelve days later he wrote letters which prove that Basuto affairs must have occupied much of his attention during the interval. To Moshesh he said that a commission was about to proceed to the Lesuto to ascertain his views and wishes respecting his and his people's relationship to the colony. To President Pretorius he wrote in terms of strong remonstrance and emphatic warning. The disturbances, he said, were caused by Jan Letele, but the responsibility rested with the Free State government that had not compelled him to live in an orderly manner. If his depredations were not suppressed, the British authorities would be compelled to set aside the existing treaties and make new arrangements for the preservation of the peace of the country. Mr. Pretorius replied, explaining the action of the Free State government, asserting that Letele's raids were only retaliations upon Poshuli, and stating his intention of appealing to her Majesty if the treaties were set aside. Thus the intercourse between Sir Philip Wodehouse and the president was unfriendly from the very first.

Before the close of the month Messrs. Joseph M. Orpen and John Burnet were appointed a commission to visit Moshesh and obtain information as to what he really wanted, the language of his letters being too vague to be understood. From the 11th to the 21st of February they held conferences with him and the leading men of his tribe at Thaba Bosigo, and ascertained that what the chief desired was merely that a diplomatic agent of the British government should be stationed with him, and that the high com-

missioner should recognise his ownership of the land below the mountains on which Nehemiah was living, which he claimed as having been ceded to him by the Pondo chief Faku. He did not propose to part with any authority over his people, but desired to be under the shield of England in order to extend that authority over a larger area.

As regards the land below the Drakensberg, Sir Philip Wodehouse refused to admit Faku's right to cede it to the Basuto, but on the 13th of May he wrote to Moshesh that he would not disturb Nehemiah there as long as that individual conducted himself as a faithful friend of the British government. Nehemiah was not satisfied with this promise, however, and endeavoured to obtain some document which at a future period might give him a claim to the district. On the 27th of November he wrote to the governor thanking him for permission to occupy the land, and requesting that he might be supplied with a chart of it. An account has already been given of Nehemiah's occupation of the district from this date until he was driven out by the Griquas of Adam Kok.

The secretary of state took Moshesh's desire to have a British agent resident with him into favourable consideration, and on the 5th of June 1862 wrote to the high commissioner approving of such an arrangement, if the services of a trustworthy and judicious person could be obtained. But the governor professed to find a difficulty in the selection of a suitable officer, and the project was never carried out.

CHAPTER LXXII.

EVENTS IN THE ORANGE FREE STATE FROM 1862 TO 1865.

PRIOR to this date the principal disturbances had taken place along the south-western border of the Lesuto, but after the ruin of Jan Letele by Poshuli in January 1862 that part of the country remained for some years in a condition of comparative peace. The scene of strife henceforth was confined to the territory on the north forming the districts of Winburg and Harrismith.

Wherever there was vacant land in these districts small parties of Basuto settled on it, and as soon as they had got a foothold they commenced to encroach on the occupied farms. There was no police to check them. They did not go as warriors, but as settlers, taking their families with them, and professing that nothing was further from their thoughts than hostilities with the farmers. Now and then, however, a murder was committed, and thefts of stock became alarmingly frequent.

In March 1862 the volksraad appointed a commission, consisting of three of its members—Messrs. J. J. Venter, J. Klopper, and J. Schutte—to proceed to Thaba Bosigo and remonstrate with Moshesh. They were to demand that the murderers of a young man named Philip Venter should be given up for trial by the Free State courts, in conformity with the sixth clause of the treaty of 1858. The murder had taken place in the district of Winburg in November 1861, and a son of Moshesh's brother Mohali was implicated in it. Next the commission was to propose that Moshesh should cede to the Free State a small piece of land in compensation for the cattle stolen by his people.

And lastly, they were to request Moshesh to send some of his principal men with them to inspect the northern line, that no one might be able thereafter to say he was unacquainted with it.

The commissioners proceeded to Thaba Bosigo, and after some delay Moshesh fixed nine o'clock on the morning of the 17th of March for an interview. Punctually to the time appointed they were at his door, when the great chief sent them word they must wait till he had finished drinking his coffee, and then took no further notice of them or their messages. Mortified by the insult, but preserving their dignity as well as they could, the commissioners sent to Moshesh to say that they were about to leave the mountain, and would remain at its foot till the next day; if he wished to speak to them he must follow. On their way down they met Masupha, who asked them to return, which they promised to do if Moshesh would send for them.

After a while a messenger came and invited them to go back. They complied, and in the afternoon met Moshesh and his counsellors, to whom they made known the objects of their mission. No reply was given that day. Several interviews took place subsequently, but though at the last Moshesh assumed a friendly tone, he would do nothing satisfactory. He declined to surrender the men charged with murdering Venter, but said he was willing to make the family of the murdered man some compensation in cattle, according to Bantu custom. As for the northern boundary, he entirely ignored it. Who made it, he asked, and what right had they to define it? It was not his act, and he did not feel bound by it.

The volksraad then determined to appeal to the high commissioner. The president, Mr. M. W. Pretorius, and the government secretary, Mr. Joseph Allison, were requested to proceed to Capetown, and were charged (a) to endeavour to obtain from the government of the Cape Colony a share of the customs duties levied at the ports on goods brought into the country, (b) to ascertain from Sir Philip Wodehouse

the cause of the unfriendly language towards the Free State used in his correspondence and in his speech at the opening of the Cape parliament, (c) to supply full information concerning the conduct of the Free State and of Moshesh, (d) to request the governor to send a commission to point out the line between the Europeans and the people of Moshesh fixed by the Sovereignty government and confirmed in the treaty of 1858 as the boundary line of the Lesuto, and (e) to request the governor to act as arbitrator between the Free State and the South African Republic in the matter of the boundary between them, as one republic claimed the Klip river, and the other the Likwa, or upper Vaal, as the dividing line.

When this intelligence was conveyed to Moshesh he caused a letter to be written to the president, in which he stated that he was sending his brother Moperi and his son George to be present at the erection of beacons along the line. Some commissioners on the part of the Free State were thereupon appointed, but they were so thoroughly convinced that Moshesh was not in earnest that they failed to appear at Winburg at the appointed time. This gave the great chief an opportunity to assert that it was not he, but the Free State, that was putting obstacles in the way, though in his next letter he admitted that Moperi and George had only been sent to see the line and report to him, that he might thereafter approve or disapprove of it.

In July 1862 Messrs. Pretorius and Allison arrived in Capetown. They failed to obtain a share of the customs duties, and were unable to induce Sir Philip Wodehouse to arbitrate on the disputed boundary between the two republics.

With regard to their case with Moshesh they laid a mass of documentary evidence before the high commissioner. They asserted that all the farms for fifteen miles (twenty-four kilometres) on the Free State side of the Warden line were at that time occupied by Basuto, and they requested his Excellency to send a commission to point out to Moshesh

the boundary as defined by Sir Harry Smith during the British occupation. Sir Philip Wodehouse consented, provided both parties would bind themselves to accept his definition of the line, and he wrote to Moshesh to ascertain if he was willing to do so. The great chief would not give a direct refusal, but sought some pretext for evasion, that he might at least gain time to push his people farther forward. His answer was therefore that he would prefer to have the boundary settled by direct negotiation between himself and the Free State, but failing that he would agree to the appointment of a commission by the governor.

While this correspondence between the high commissioner and Moshesh was going on, the Free State authorities were writing most urgent letters entreating his Excellency to use all haste in interfering, as otherwise the condition of affairs must lead to war. At the beginning of November they first learned Moshesh's plans for gaining time, and immediately appointed another commission, more with the object of proving that they were doing all that was possible to preserve peace, than with any hope of arranging matters.

Moshesh now increased his efforts to push back the Europeans. Great hunting parties were sent far into the Free State, with instructions to drive the game through the farmers' flocks and herds and past their very doors. These parties polluted the water in the reservoirs, damaged the gardens, and insulted and terrified the owners of the ground. In several instances farmers were driven from their homes by violence. A small police force had been raised, but it was too weak to be of any use, and there were no funds to employ more men. In the Lesuto public meetings were held, at which the best methods of driving back the farmers were openly discussed, and arrangements for farther advances were made. The lawless condition of the disturbed districts cannot be better exemplified than by the following circumstance. On one occasion an exasperated farmer named Fouche shot a Mosuto. The next day a party of Basuto went and murdered the farmer's son in

retaliation. And on neither side could any punishment be inflicted.

During the summer of 1862-3 the Basuto generally were in a state of excitement, for in addition to the effort to enlarge their territory, a movement of a religious nature was taking place. Certain individuals who professed to have communication with the spirit world were exhorting the people to reject the teaching of the missionaries, and were everywhere being listened to with attention. Moshesh himself was encouraging the introduction anew of old rites and customs, which in some places had partially fallen into disuse. The utterances of the revivalists showed in a grotesque manner the effect on the whole mass of the people which Christian teaching during thirty years had in modifying the ancient Bantu creed. Their fathers, when first told of the existence of a God who was not the spirit of an ancient chief, did not dispute the fact, but in a vague way stated their opinion that he resided in the bowels of the earth. One of these revivalists, who professed to have had direct communication with the Great Being, now found him above in the skies, though another met him below. He had become in their ideas a Great Chief, the road to whose residence was not a narrow path, as the missionaries declared it to be, but a broad highway constantly full of crowds of people. He was a polygamist, they asserted, Jesus was his son by one wife, the Holy Spirit by another. And yet, so irrational were they, the spirits of the dead chiefs of the segments of their tribe were the sole objects of their prayers and sacrifices, without any inquiry as to whether the God thus depicted was one of them or not.

On the 28th of November the state secretary wrote to Moshesh that a commission consisting of Messrs. C. von Brandis, landdrost of Winburg, W. G. Every, commandant of the police, J. Schutte, and R. du Toit had been appointed to coöperate with his representatives in settling the boundary, and that Mr. Von Brandis had been empowered to arrange the details and time of meeting with him. No reply

to this communication was made before the 1st of January 1863. Then, by Moshesh's instructions, the reverend Mr. Jousse wrote to Mr. Von Brandis that "the Basuto were busy in their gardens and had no time to spare for anything else at the moment."

On the 14th of January 1863 President Pretorius again addressed Sir Philip Wodehouse, informing him of Moshesh's insincerity and urging him to appoint a commission. This letter had the effect of causing his Excellency to press upon Moshesh the necessity of arranging matters amicably, which he once more promised to do.

Again therefore the Free State government appointed a commission—Messrs. Venter, De Villiers, Schutte, and Naude—who proceeded to Thaba Bosigo, and there, on the 2nd of March, were joined by a few men of no rank or position in the tribe, whom Moshesh sent to report the proceedings. To these people every beacon along the line was shown, and they then returned to their chief. On the 9th of April Moshesh wrote to the high commissioner that the line shown to his delegates cut off a considerable number of villages inhabited by Basuto, adding that he trusted the government of the Free State would not insist upon it, and asking for advice.

At this stage Mr. Pretorius retired from the presidency of the Free State. On the 1st of October 1862 he had tendered his resignation to the volksraad, assigning as his reason that he desired to return to the South African Republic and endeavour to restore concord to that country, which was then politically in a deplorable condition. The volksraad in reply informed him that his services could not be dispensed with at that juncture, and requested him not to press the matter until the ordinary session in February following. On the 5th of March 1863 he again tendered his resignation, but was requested by the volksraad to withdraw it; and a resolution was adopted granting him leave of absence. He proceeded to Potchefstroom, where a sore domestic bereavement awaited him. On the 20th of March

his only son died, being the tenth child that he had lost, and he was then left with but one daughter. On the 15th of April he sent a final letter of resignation to the state secretary.

During the last year of Mr. Pretorius's tenure of office the Free State had not made much advance in wealth or in population. Still there were a few events denoting progress which should be recorded. On the 24th of February 1862 the first building lots of the church village of Edenburg in the district of Fauresmith were sold. On the 19th of June of the same year the Bloemfontein bank was established. This was quickly followed by a local bank in Fauresmith, and this again was succeeded by branches of the Standard bank at Bloemfontein, Fauresmith, and Smithfield. In June 1862 the Paris Evangelical Society sold to some farmers the mission station of Beersheba as it had been reduced in size by the treaty of 1858. The reverend Mr. Rolland removed to a new station called Poortje, within the border of the Lesuto. The price for which Beersheba was sold was £6,000. Thus, one after another, the reserves of the Sovereignty days were disappearing, and the complications which they caused were passing away.

On receipt of Mr. Pretorius's letter of the 15th of April 1863, Mr. Allison called the volksraad together in extraordinary session. The members assembled on the 17th of June, and on the 20th appointed Mr. Jacobus Johannes Venter acting president until a regular election should take place. For the next seven months Mr. Venter was at the head of the state.

The volksraad decided to recommend only one candidate to the electors, and from several whose names were brought forward chose for that purpose Advocate John Henry Brand, a gentleman of the highest standing at the bar of the supreme court of the Cape Colony, and whose moral and intellectual worth was generally recognised throughout South Africa. The 5th of November was fixed as the day of election.

In May a deputation consisting of Messrs. Job Harvey, W. G. Every, P. Greyling, and J. Olivier, had been sent to Moshesh, to endeavour to induce him to recall his people who were trespassing. The deputation met the great chief with his principal men at Morija, and on the 28th a public conference took place. Moshesh refused either to recognise the line or recall his people. He would not even promise to punish thieves as long, he said, as Jan Letele was protected by the Europeans. Nothing whatever was settled. But on the following day Moshesh proposed that another commission should be sent, in order that he might point out where he wished the boundary to be.

Among the residents along the Basuto border there were still some individuals who regarded either the incorporation of the country with the Cape Colony, or a federal union, as the only means for getting rid of their troubles. Moshesh, they said, was so powerful that by themselves they could not deal with him, and the Free State was therefore obliged to submit to his exactions. The matter was brought by memorial before the volksraad which met in June, when a discussion took place in which the wretched condition of the petitioners was recognised, and a resolution was adopted that the legislature would not rest until the border was secure. But the only means that the members could devise was to empower the acting president to arrange with Moshesh to allow the Free State to pay regular salaries to the border chiefs for the suppression of robbery, and to give special rewards for the delivery of thieves and stolen stock,—which proved utterly useless.

Then followed another letter to the high commissioner, and again another, imploring his intervention. All had been done, said the state authorities, that was in their power to bring Moshesh to reason, but without avail. After this, Landdrost Van Soelen was sent to ascertain from Moshesh and Letsie whether the intruders could be forcibly expelled without those chiefs taking their part, to which Moshesh replied significantly that he was their ruler. And even:

while Mr. Van Soelen was talking, Sophonia, with a thousand men at his back, was hunting far beyond the border and defying the farmers.

On the 27th of August the high commissioner wrote to Moshesh that in conformity with the second article of the treaty of Aliwal North he was willing to appoint commissioners "for the purpose of marking out so much of the boundary line described in the first article of that treaty as lay to the northward of Jammerberg Drift; but before doing so wished to receive the chief's assurance that he would be prepared to carry out their award."

Moshesh now saw that he must do something, or the high commissioner would be offended. He therefore, after creating as many delays as he could, consented to Mr. Venter's proposal that they should meet personally with a view of coming to a friendly arrangement. On the 25th of November the conference took place at Platberg, when there was a large gathering of subordinate chiefs and leading men. Moshesh rejected the Warden line, but proposed in writing a new boundary which would extend the Lesuto to the Vaal river and cut off from the Free State nearly half the districts of Winburg and Harrismith, including about two hundred and fifty farms held under British titles. Such a proposal could not, of course, be entertained by the acting president.

The year closed with another appeal from Mr. Venter to the high commissioner, to which a reply was made that his Excellency was ready to render assistance in concert with both parties.

On the 16th of November 1863 the first building lots of the village of Rouxville were sold. The farm Zuurbult in the Smithfield district had been purchased by a committee, and laid out as a church place in the usual manner.

On the day appointed for the election of a president a great majority of the burghers voted in accordance with the recommendation of the volksraad. Three thousand four hundred and fifty votes in all were given. Of these, two

thousand two hundred and seventy-six were for Advocate Brand, nine hundred and four for Mr. J. J. Venter, two hundred and forty-three for Mr. T. H. Bowker, and twenty-seven for Mr. J. Allison. On the 2nd of February 1864 Advocate Brand took the oaths of office as president of the Orange Free State.

The republic had now been ten years in existence, and several clauses in the constitution adopted in 1854 were found to need alteration. No change whatever had yet been made in it, with the exception of the one already mentioned concerning the nomination of candidates for the presidency and a clause which had been added in 1857 empowering the state secretary to take part in the debates of the volksraad. During the session of the volksraad in February 1864 this subject was considered, and several clauses of the constitution were amended. As the changes required to be approved of in three yearly sessions, they did not come into force until February 1866.

After that date burghers consisted of (a) all white persons born in the country, (b) all white persons resident in the country for one year and possessing fixed property to the value of £150 registered in their names, and (c) all white persons resident for three successive years in the country.

Persons coming under either of the last two clauses were required to produce a written certificate of good conduct from the authorities of their former place of residence, and give a written promise of fidelity to the state and obedience to its laws, when the president was directed to supply a certificate of burghership.

All youths on reaching the age of sixteen years and all other persons on obtaining certificates of burghership were required to inscribe their names with the fieldcornet of the ward in which they resided, and were made liable to perform military service until they should attain the age of sixty years.

All burghers over eighteen years of age were declared entitled to vote for commandants and fieldcornets.

In the election of a president and members of the volksraad the following classes of burghers of full age were declared entitled to vote: (a) those born in the state, (b) those in possession of unmortgaged landed property to the value of £150 registered in their names, (c) lessees of landed property at a yearly rental of £36, (d) those in receipt of a fixed yearly income of £200, and (e) those resident in the state for three years and possessing movable property worth £300.

It was required of members of the volksraad that they should be burghers, twenty-five years of age, owners of unmortgaged landed property to the value of £200, and never have been convicted of crime.

The duties of the volksraad were defined to be the making of laws, and the control of the administration and the finances. Its ordinary sessions were fixed to take place at Bloemfontein on the first Monday in May of every year. It was to consist of one member for each fieldcornetcy and one for the seat of magistracy of each district, who were to be those receiving the greatest number of votes. Villages other than seats of magistracy were excluded from returning members.

It was resolved that the constitution as thus amended could not be altered again except by the approval of three-fourths of the volksraad given in two successive yearly sessions.

Provision was made for the extension of education. Itinerant teachers, who could give instruction to the children of farmers, were to receive salaries from the state, and in each district town there was to be a government aided school under the management of a committee composed of the landdrost, the clergyman, and three members elected by contributors to the school funds. The system of education, though humble compared with what it is at present, was thus as good as in most new countries. Its apex was the Grey college at Bloemfontein, founded some years earlier in accordance with plans designed by Sir George Grey.

There was a question which came before the volksraad for decision during this session, which did not seem of much importance at the time, but which in later years was one of the greatest difficulties the republic had to meet. Adam Kok had sold his territorial rights to the government of President Pretorius, the question was how far did those territorial rights extend. Concerning the country which he originally claimed there could be no dispute. But Cornelis Kok, of Campbell, had some time before his death formally ceded his chieftainship to his nephew Adam Kok, who for several years was undisputed head of the Campbell people and their territory. Was this ground included in the sale? The Free State government maintained that it was; Mr. David Arnot, agent for the captain Nicholas Waterboer, asserted that it was not, and that his client was its rightful owner.

Like all the Griqua captains, Cornelis Kok had laid claim to a tract of country twenty times as great as he had any use for. There was no treaty with him, but Sir Harry Smith and the Sovereignty government applied exactly the same principle to him as to Adam Kok. In the case of the latter, individual proprietorship of ground was recognised between the Modder and Riet rivers, but there the chief lost his sovereign rights, which were limited to the district between the Riet and the Orange. In the case of Cornelis Kok, proprietorship of ground was recognised between the lower Vaal and Modder rivers, but his sovereign rights were confined to the territory beyond the Vaal. This was the condition of matters when the republic came into existence, and it had remained so ever since.

Adam Kok, by a notice published in the *Friend of the Free State* of the 26th December 1862, denied that the territory north of the Vaal—known as the Campbell grounds—was included in his sale, although there was no reserve whatever in the document passed by his agent, and the people of that district had moved to Griqualand East with him. His repudiation of the sale and Mr. Arnot's

claim on behalf of Waterboer came first before the volksraad in February 1863, when it was decided that a commission consisting of the president and Messrs. Van Soelen and F. Cloete should meet a commission to be appointed by Waterboer and settle the matter amicably. This had not been effected, and Sir Philip Wodehouse was then requested to act as arbitrator. His Excellency consented, and on the 11th of February 1864 the volksraad approved of the question being submitted to his decision. But Waterboer then refused to sign the deed of submission. President Brand expressed an opinion that the best arrangement would be to offer Waterboer the Campbell grounds in exchange for the tract of land between the Orange, the line from Ramah towards David's Graf, and the Vetberg line, over which his sovereignty had been recognised in October 1855. This land, though less valuable for farming purposes, was on the Free State side of the Vaal, and its acquisition would give the republic a clear river boundary. The advantage of the exchange was admitted by some of the members, but the volksraad did not adopt the proposal to make Waterboer the offer.

Mr. Arnot was now, however, putting forward claims on behalf of his client to a very much larger tract of country than the Campbell territory, for on the 21st of November 1863 he inserted a notice in the *Colesberg Advertiser* that Waterboer's eastern boundary was a line from Ramah on the Orange to David's Graf at the junction of the Riet and Modder, and thence to Platberg on the Vaal. He thus advanced pretensions to land which for fifteen years had been in the peaceable and undisputed occupation of the Sovereignty and Free State governments, and which included the former Korana and Bushman reserves as well as many farms held by Europeans. The government of the Free State considered this claim so extravagant that no attempt was made to refute it.

There had always been in the Free State a party—chiefly consisting of residents in the villages—in favour of union

with the Cape Colony. Of late years this party had increased in strength, owing to the difficulties with Moshesh and to the refusal of the Cape government to surrender any portion of the customs duties on imported goods. Its leading members argued that by union with the Cape Colony such assistance would be forthcoming as would enable them to deal with the Basuto without danger of defeat, and that they would then enjoy their fair share of the customs revenue. In a condition of isolation, they maintained, the Free State was obliged to try to keep the Basuto tribe in check for the benefit, not of itself alone, but of the whole of South Africa, and at the same time was deprived of funds that justly belonged to it and that by union it would receive in the form of a strong police force on the border. In June 1864 memorials in favour of annexation to the Cape Colony, signed by one thousand five hundred and fifty burghers, were laid before the volksraad. But the party, though forming a respectable minority in the country, was unable to impress the volksraad with its views, so as to get a resolution carried in accordance with its desires. The majority of the farmers were averse to union with the colony, as they set a high value upon their independence.

The number of churches in the republic was rapidly increasing. In 1854, when British sovereignty was withdrawn, there were only two clergymen in the whole country, exclusive of the missionaries with the blacks. In November 1864 a general assembly at Smithfield decided that the Dutch Reformed church of the Orange Free State should be an independent body governed by a synod of its own. The first synod met at Smithfield on the 10th of May 1865, and continued in session until the 14th. There were then eleven congregations in the republic, of which seven were provided with ministers. In the first synod the seven clergymen and fifteen elders took part, seven other elders being prevented from attending by the unsettled condition of the country.

In addition to the Dutch Reformed church—the body to which the great majority of the inhabitants belonged—there was a branch of the Separatist Reformed church, with a clergyman at Reddersburg. The Wesleyans had congregations and clergymen in a few of the villages, and the church of England was represented by several congregations with a staff of clergymen presided over by a bishop—the right reverend Edward Twells—who arrived in September 1863.

A matter that was at this time occupying the attention of many people in the republic was the existence of banking institutions whose shareholders and directors were resident in Europe. It was feared that the Standard bank might acquire a power in the country dangerous to freedom, and it was generally believed that its operations were designed exclusively for the benefit of shareholders abroad, who had no other interest in the country than to make as large a profit as possible. Public opinion at length grew so strong that in March 1865 a law was passed by the volksraad that no foreign bank would be allowed in the Free State after the beginning of the next year.

As this enactment would cause foreign capital to be withdrawn, the volksraad resolved to create a paper currency, and constitute it a legal tender. On the 10th of March 1865 a creation of notes to the value of £30,000 was authorised. They were to be signed by the president and treasurer-general, were to be a legal tender for ten years, and after that period were to be redeemed at the rate of £6,000 yearly. They were issued on the security of government property. This capital was lent to the Bloemfontein bank, on payment of a yearly interest of six per cent. The notes, which were commonly called bluebacks from the colour of the paper on which they were printed, first came into circulation on the 15th of April 1865.

On the 3rd of February 1864 the volksraad empowered President Brand again to request the high commissioner to point out the boundary between the Free State and the Lesuto, and on the 5th the president wrote in the strongest

language, entreating him to do so. To this the now stereotyped reply was received that his Excellency was willing, if his mediation was distinctly accepted by both parties. And to bring the matter to a close, the high commissioner not only wrote to Moshesh asking him to state plainly whether he would accept or decline the proposal, but he directed Mr. Burnet to proceed to Thaba Bosigo and personally confer with the great chief.

Mr. Burnet, in reporting the result of his mission, stated that he found Moshesh pretending to be ignorant of both the Warden line and the treaty of Aliwal North, and refusing to listen to a word about either. He talked with his children and missionaries from Monday till Wednesday evening, and then came to a conclusion which he embodied in a letter, and which left him free to do what he liked, if he should not be satisfied with the high commissioner's decision. Mr. Burnet told him that he would make no arrangement for the mediation upon any such document. He had drafted an act of acceptance, which was fully and clearly translated by the reverend Messrs. Maitin and Mabile, and after much wild rambling talk at eleven o'clock at night the great chief signed it. Mr. Burnet added that it was only fear of the British government which induced Moshesh to agree to the mediation.

And so at last there was a prospect of relief before the Free State, for the government and people cherished the hope that if the high commissioner pointed out the line Moshesh would respect it. The president wrote to his Excellency expressing his warmest and most sincere thanks, and the volksraad, with every demonstration of satisfaction, appointed two of its members—Messrs. C. J. de Villiers and H. A. L. Hamelberg—to form with the president a deputation to meet his Excellency and represent the state.

Mr. Burnet was directed to confer with the president, and make the necessary arrangements for the high commissioner's journey. The Free State provided transport waggons and horses, which were sent on to Aliwal North.

It was arranged that the work of inspecting the line should be commenced on the 14th of March, and all the parties were to meet at Mekuatleng on that date, but very heavy rains set in, and a week's postponement became necessary. This gave Moshesh an opportunity to seek further delay, and he wrote requesting that on account of the heavy rains and swollen rivers the meeting might be postponed indefinitely.

On the 16th of March the high commissioner arrived at Aliwal North. The Free State deputation was in waiting upon the opposite bank of the river. But now a difficulty entirely unforeseen arose. On the 26th of February, before leaving Grahamstown, the high commissioner had written to the president that he was undertaking the journey in the supposition that he would be allowed to make such modifications of the line as he might consider just and reasonable and calculated to ensure the maintenance of peaceful relations. The Free State government was desirous that his Excellency should point out the line defined by Major Warden, proclaimed by Sir Harry Smith, and ratified in the treaty of Aliwal North; but was willing that he should make such modifications in it as both parties might agree to. When Sir Philip Wodehouse reached Aliwal North, he addressed a letter to the president, asking for a clear understanding on this point. The president could only reply in terms of the Free State view. Under the constitution, the volksraad was the only authority that could grant such powers as the high commissioner desired, and that body was not then in session. Several letters passed between the high commissioner and the president, and on the morning of the 17th they had a personal interview. It ended by Sir Philip Wodehouse declining to proceed on the mission, the difference between his views and the powers of the Free State deputation remaining as implied in the phrases "what the high commissioner may consider just and reasonable" and "what the Free State and Basuto deputations may think expedient."

From Aliwal North Sir Philip Wodehouse proceeded to Morija, where he met Moshesh. The great chief spoke in his usual manner of his love of peace, and promised the high commissioner to abstain from all acts of hostility towards the Free State. But such promises were valueless, for his people continued as before to press upon and harass the farmers of Winburg and Harrismith.

The president returned with all speed to Bloemfontein, and immediately summoned the volksraad to meet in extraordinary session on the 4th of May. On the 5th the members resolved, in their wish to prevent war, to empower his Excellency to make such modifications in the Warden line as he might consider just and reasonable and calculated to ensure the maintenance of peaceful relations, and that his Excellency's decision should be considered as final.

With these extensive powers Sir Philip Wodehouse consented to define a boundary, but until October he was unable to absent himself from the colony. On the 6th of that month he reached Jammerberg Drift, where Mr. Burnet had arranged that all the parties to the dispute should assemble. The high commissioner was accompanied by Lady Wodehouse, Sir Walter Currie, commandant of the colonial police, Mr. Josias Rivers, aide-de-camp, Mr. J. Burnet, Dr. Watling, and Land-Surveyor Dowling. With the president were Mr. J. J. Venter, late acting-president, Commandants Fick and De Villiers, and Fieldcornet De Wet. Moshesh was accompanied by a host of his sub-chiefs and attendants. Moroko was there also. And beside all these, there were present many individuals, farmers, missionaries, and others, interested in the question or drawn together by curiosity.

On the 7th there was a formal conference, which lasted six hours. Each side laid its case before the high commissioner. The Free State simply asked that the boundary established by the British authorities in 1849 and confirmed by the treaty of 1858 should be maintained. Moshesh's case was that there had once been a time when the land between the Lesuto and the Vaal river was occupied by Bantu tribes.

The remnants of those tribes were now living in the Lesuto. He handed to the high commissioner a list of the names of chiefs and titles of clans who had occupied the country beyond the Warden line in the early years of the century, and he asked that the ground should be restored to the heirs of those who owned it before the wars of Tshaka. The high commissioner stated that he would examine the ground in person, and make known his decision afterwards. But he gave both parties distinctly to understand that whatever his award might be, he had neither the disposition nor the authority to take the slightest step to enforce compliance with it.

On the 8th of October Sir Philip Wodehouse, accompanied by the commissioners of the Free State and of Moshesh, commenced an inspection of the country. As the party proceeded, one Basuto delegate after another returned home, when the district in which he was interested was left behind. But the claims which they made, like those of Moshesh, would in the aggregate have involved the extinction of the Free State. The delegates of the republic confined themselves to pointing out the Warden line and proving that the ground beyond it was unoccupied when the farmers first took possession of it.

The examination occupied rather more than a fortnight, but by the 28th the high commissioner had reached Aliwal North on his return, and on that day delivered his award in writing. It was wholly in favour of the Free State. Both before and after this event Sir Philip Wodehouse showed that he was not entirely untainted by the prejudices against the unlettered and unrefined farmers of the interior of South Africa which most Europeans of culture are prone to feel. At the time of his mediation he believed the Free State to be too weak as a military power to contend successfully with Moshesh, but his sympathies were not attracted to the farmers by their supposed helplessness. He had read letter after letter informing him of the distress, the misery, and the danger of the white inhabitants of Winburg and Harri-

smith, without showing any emotion. At the very time that some of the most urgent of these letters, imploring his mediation, were coming to his hands, he had made a present of a quantity of gunpowder to Moshesh, not sufficient indeed to do much damage in case of war, but ample to show on which side his private inclinations were. He came to this country believing that the conduct of the whites of the Free State towards their black neighbours was oppressive, as is proved by the first letter which he wrote to President Pretorius. That three years after giving this judgment he prevented the destruction of the Basuto power is known to every one.

But in the question of the disputed boundary the high commissioner was obliged to be guided by rules of justice. And in accordance with those rules he decided that the Warden line must remain the boundary, with only one slight change. During the British occupation a small tract of land north of one section of the line had not been divided into farms, as Mr. Biddulph, magistrate of Winburg, proposed to add it to the reserve assigned to Gert Taaibosch's Koranas. These people had long since moved beyond the Vaal, and the high commissioner now gave to Moshesh the ground which Mr. Biddulph intended for them. In the letter to the chief informing him of the award, Sir Philip Wodehouse described the country as he found it in the following terms:—

“I have satisfied myself that the line known as the Warden line was so drawn as to do no more, except in one portion, than preserve the farms for which British certificates have been given; and likewise that up to the time of the signing of the Aliwal treaty the rights of the owners of the farms had not been questioned, nor their possession disturbed. What is the present state of affairs? From one end of the line to the other, and in most cases to a considerable distance within the line, parties of your tribe, without a pretence of right, and without any formal declaration on your part, have squatted on the several farms, have established villages, cultivated large tracts of land, introduced large quantities of cattle, and have by intimidation driven off the lawful owners. Everywhere are to be seen deserted and roofless farm houses, with valuable orchards fast going to destruction.”

Immediately after the delivery of the award the president requested Moshesh to cause measures to be taken for the

removal of his people from Free State territory before the end of November. Moshesh replied that he would call a meeting of his sub-chiefs to discuss the matter, and would communicate the result.

A pitso, or national gathering of the Basuto, was thereupon held. At these meetings there is liberty of speech for every one, and on this occasion even the common people uttered their sentiments freely. All were in a state of violent excitement, and all, with two exceptions, clamoured for war rather than relinquishment of the coveted territory. The exceptions were Moshesh and his great son Letsie. The latter had none of the abilities of his father, except sufficient cunning to conceal his designs. He had intelligence enough, however, to know that his brothers were his superiors mentally, and that as the tribe was of recent formation they might easily wrest large sections of it from him on the death of their father. Extension of the Lesuto north of the Warden line meant increase of the power of Molapo and Masupha, which Letsie had no wish to see, and therefore he was probably in earnest when he gave his opinion that the agreement to abide by the high commissioner's decision should be faithfully observed.

Moshesh's reasons were very different. There was nothing further from his mind than submission to the award in good faith, but he was far too prudent to put himself in the wrong with the British government. In that figurative language which he was so fond of using, he told the assembly that they were in this matter governed, but that some other cause for war might arise. His people understood him. It was thereupon resolved, though not expressed in words, that to save appearances the Basuto squatters should be withdrawn from the Free State, and that a cause for war would be found such as would not forfeit the sympathy of the British government.

This is now made so clear by subsequent events, and by the collection and publication of letters written by instruction of the different chiefs and contemporaneous records

from the pens of Colonial and Free State officials, that no one at all acquainted with Basuto ways attempts to dispute it. But so wary was the great chief that Sir Philip Wodehouse was completely deceived. Five months after the award, during all which time the Basuto were devising plan after plan to draw the farmers to attack them, the high commissioner informed the secretary of state for the colonies that his decision had been faithfully accepted by Moshesh, and that all fear of a collision was at an end. And both the high commissioner and the secretary of state complimented the chief upon his loyal and faithful conduct.

What that conduct was in reality must now be shown. The chiefs who attended the pitso had no sooner dispersed than cattle-lifting was resumed on a very extensive scale along the south-western border, from which that quarter had for nearly three years been tolerably free. From the ground north of the Warden line the women, children, and horned cattle were removed, but the men and horses were left behind. A strong patrol of farmers was assembling, to be ready on the 1st of December to expel any intruders who might then remain. While matters were in this condition, on the 22nd of November a letter was handed to the president by some Basuto, who stated that it had been sent by Moshesh. The seal of the great chief was not, however, attached to it. Its purport was that if Sir Philip Wodehouse would not give another line than that of Major Warden, Moshesh would not submit. The object evidently was to provoke an attack before the expiration of the month. The president, however, was too cautious to be thus imposed upon. He sent Commandant Wessels to Moshesh to ascertain if he acknowledged the document, when the great chief declared it to be a forgery.

About the same time some farms near Bethlehem were pillaged by a party of Basuto under Lesawana, or Ramanela as he was afterwards called. This Ramanela was a son of Moshesh's brother Makhabane, and was married to Moshesh's daughter of highest rank, who was a full sister of Letsie.

The attack upon the farms was entirely unprovoked. The homesteads were damaged, the loose property was destroyed, and the cattle were driven off. As this act did not provoke retaliation, Moshesh affected to throw all the blame upon Ramanela, promised to punish him for it, and engaged to compensate the farmers to the extent demanded by Commandant De Villiers, namely to restore their stock which had been driven off and to pay seventy head of good cattle as damages.

When the award was communicated to the president, the high commissioner had counselled moderation in requiring its fulfilment, and had expressed an opinion that it might be found practicable to permit some of the Basuto squatters to remain within the Free State on reasonable conditions. The Free State government was not unwilling to adopt this recommendation, and overtures from Ramanela himself were being favourably entertained at the very time when he plundered the Bethlehem farmers. After this, naturally, the Free State authorities resolved that none could remain.

At the beginning of December the president with a strong patrol inspected the line, and found no Basuto within it, except in one place a few who appeared to be panic-stricken. He then left a guard of two hundred men on the border, and returned to Bloemfontein.

Moshesh's letters at this time, as ever throughout his life, were filled with peaceful expressions. He had ordered his subjects, he said, to withdraw within his boundary, and he believed that they had all done so, except a few of Ramanela's clan who would move without further delay. He informed the president of a rumour which he asserted he had heard, that the Free State, the South African Republic, and Moroko had entered into alliance with a view of attacking him, and innocently asked if there was any truth in it. He stated that his people had abandoned the territory north of the line so hastily that they had been unable to remove the corn which was stored in baskets or

their loose goods and effects, and he requested that they might be permitted to return for such property and also to gather the crops then growing in the gardens which they had made. Moperi and Molapo also wrote, making similar requests.

The president, in reply, gave the chiefs permission to send people for the corn and loose goods at any time before the end of January 1865, provided the people so sent were unarmed, and conducted themselves properly. As for the crops growing in the gardens, he would submit the question of their removal or otherwise to the volksraad.

Some of Ramanela's people still remained in secluded parts of the territory restored to the Free State by the award. On the 27th of December they attacked the border guard as it was patrolling in the Harrismith district, but were driven back with a loss of one man killed and five wounded. The president then called upon Moshesh to remove these subjects of his, and to fulfil the engagements he had made a month before. The great chief repeated his promise, spoke of his love of peace and desire to do what was right, asked that a commission should be sent to confer with him upon the punishment of Ramanela, and when Mr. Job Harvey, landdrost of Smithfield, was sent with this object, would do nothing. While time was thus being spent in fruitless negotiations, Ramanela's people were busy plundering, and in the second week of January 1865 two burghers were severely wounded by them.

On the 6th of February 1865 the volksraad met. On the 7th a resolution was unanimously adopted, thanking the high commissioner in the name of the government and the people for what he had done, and then the question of the Basuto squatters being permitted to gather the corn growing in the gardens they had made came on for discussion. After a debate of two days duration, resolutions were carried that the squatters could not be permitted to gather the maize and millet crops, which would not reach maturity for some time to come, but that under reasonable safeguards

they might remove before the end of February the wheat which was then ripe.

Just before this resolution was passed, Moshesh's son Tsekelo paid an official visit to Bloemfontein. On his return homewards he drove off some horses belonging to farmers, and retired with them to a mountain stronghold between Winburg and Mekuatleng, where he took up his residence. When shortly afterwards he was brought to account there by Moperi, his own father-in-law, no fewer than forty horses belonging to Free State burghers were found in his possession.

On the 23rd of February the president wrote to Moshesh, making a formal demand of redress for Ramanela's misdeeds; but Mr. Harvey, who was then endeavouring to obtain a friendly settlement, was instructed not to deliver the document until everything else should fail. It was thus kept back till the time allowed for redress was unreasonably short, on which account the president cancelled it, and renewed the demand on the 28th of March. In this letter Moshesh was called upon to remove Ramanela's people from the Free State, to pay the fine of seventy head of cattle, to make full compensation for the wounding of the two burghers, and to punish the guilty parties, before the 15th of April; to restore the forty-seven horses and thirty-seven cattle stolen in November by Ramanela, and to punish those followers of Ramanela who had attacked the border guard, before the 1st of May; failing which the government of the Free State would act towards Ramanela according to the eleventh article of the treaty of Aliwal North.

The only notice which Moshesh took of these demands was to forward on the 26th of April fifty-eight of the least valuable cattle in his country, nine horses, and £4 in money, which the president immediately sent back to him. And while the cattle were on the return road, Ramanela made a descent upon a farm belonging to a widow named Uys, and drove off thirty-five horses.

A considerable burgher force was therefore called out. A guard was stationed at Koesberg to watch Poshuli, and a commando took the field to punish Ramanela. On the 9th of May the president left Bloemfontein and put himself at the head of the burghers. Ramanela then sent his cattle into Natal for safety, and made a show of resistance. On the 25th of May the commando attacked him, when after a little skirmishing he fled over the boundary with a loss of a few men killed and wounded. This was exactly what was anticipated and provided for by the Basuto chiefs. The same stratagem that had lured the column of Colonel Napier at Berea to destruction had been employed to tempt the Free State forces onward. Thousands of cattle were in sight, apparently unguarded and ready to be made an easy booty. But the president was too cautious to fall into the trap. On the line the commando halted, and Ramanela's fugitive clan was pursued no farther.

While the forces were assembling to conduct this operation, the followers of Moperi were doing what they could to provoke an attack. Some of them took temporary possession of a farm belonging to one Van Rooyen, and made prisoners of the owner and of a man named Pelzer, the latter of whom they assaulted and beat. Another party seized on Free State ground a farmer named Michiel Muller, carried him away to Moperi's village, and detained him there for four days.

On the 2nd of June the president demanded from Moshesh the delivery to the landdrost of Winburg before sunset on the 8th of the individuals who had thus assaulted and imprisoned Free State burghers on their own ground, together with a fine of fifty head of cattle; and announced that if the demand was not complied with he would consider it a declaration of war. To this no reply was made, and so on the 9th of June 1865 the president issued from Leeuwkop a proclamation calling the burghers to arms for the vindication of their rights against the Basuto.

CHAPTER LXXIII.

THE WAR OF 1865-6 BETWEEN THE ORANGE FREE STATE AND THE BASUTO TRIBE.

SINCE the war of 1858 the relative military strength of the Free State and the Lesuto had altered considerably, though to observers at a distance the disparity between them seemed still enormous. The extent of the republic was much greater than in 1858, and in the interval immigration had largely increased its population. No exact census had yet been taken, but the number of Europeans of both sexes and of all ages was computed at thirty-five thousand souls. The Basuto had also increased in number, but not in the same proportion, as there had been no large influx of people from other tribes into their country. The subjects of Moshesh at this time were about one hundred and seventy-five thousand all told, or as five to one of their opponents.

In another respect also the disparity of 1858 was lessened. There were still factions in the Free State opposing each other in everything political, but by common consent in this supreme moment of danger their quarrels were suspended, and with one heart they responded to the president's call to arms. It was not his party, but his country, that each man rose to aid. Moshesh was becoming feeble by age, and, though he still retained all the wiliness of his younger days, he was no longer capable of making much exertion either in body or in mind. As his weakness increased, the religion of his youth was constantly recovering more and more hold upon him, and at this time he was completely under the influence of Bantu seers. His actions were now guided to a

large extent by the dreams and ravings of persons who were half-maniacs, and by the castings of divining bones and charms. A great portion of the authority which he had once wielded had under these circumstances passed into the hands of his sons, and these men, whose talents were not beyond those of ordinary barbarians, were intensely jealous of each other. Letsie, the eldest son by the principal wife, would gladly have seen Molapo, who was next to him in rank, destroyed or driven from the country. Molapo was bent upon making himself independent of Letsie. Masupha, who came next and who was the ablest of the three, was endeavouring to draw adherents from both his brothers. Even this war, which was popular with all because it promised plunder to all, could not cement for a day the rival Basuto factions.

In the matter of military supplies the combatants were on an equality, provided the war should not be a long one. The Basuto had accumulated a good stock of rifles and gunpowder, which contraband traders had brought into their country, and Moshesh had laid by a large quantity of ammunition received by him as toll from people of the north who had visited the Cape Colony for various purposes and passed through the Lesuto on their return to their homes. The leading chiefs had even obtained several cannon and some small field-guns. On the other hand these supplies, though considerable, were not inexhaustible, and the Free State had an open market in the colonies on the seaboard.

But apart from all comparisons as to numbers, political condition, and material of war, the advantages which the physical features of their country gave to the Basuto were so great that the Free State cause to ordinary observers seemed utterly hopeless. Yet thoughtful men might have remarked that from the earliest period of their history it was under such circumstances, when driven to extremities and with enormous odds against them, that the stubborn Batavian race has over and over again proved its right to

rank with the best and the bravest of the nations of the world.

A proclamation, intended as a reply to the president's declaration of war, was published in the name of Moshesh. It was the production of a European brain, but one saturated with Basuto subtilty. By a careful suppression of some facts and distortion of others the Basuto cause was put forth as a just one. The document was intended for readers in England, who knew nothing whatever of the cause of the war, and it was therefore so worded as to claim their sympathy. The respect of Moshesh for the Queen was dwelt upon, and Englishmen in the Free State were informed that if they would remain quietly on their farms they and their property would not be molested. It would have been too extravagant to have hazarded a clear statement that the Free State wished to deprive Moshesh of an acre of his ground, yet this was insinuated in the words with which the document ended, "all persons know that my great sin is that I possess a good and fertile country." Not a single Englishman in the Free State was deceived by this manifesto.

At a council of war held by the officers of the burgher forces which were rapidly assembling, it was resolved to attack Moperi first, and on the 13th of June the Free State army encamped within two miles (3·2 kilometres) of that chief's kraal, Maboela, the mission station of the reverend Mr. Keck. The men of each district were mustered under their own commandant, and at the head of the whole force was Jan Fick, the same man who had suffered so much for his attachment to the British government in the Sovereignty days.

On the morning of the 14th eight hundred and fifty men, under Commandant-General Fick, with two fieldpieces under Captain Goodman, marched to attack Moperi. Two commandants—Malan and Fourie—were left with their burghers to defend the camp. As the foremost file entered a ravine between mountains, fire was opened upon it from

behind rocks and stone walls, but at too great a distance to do any damage. Immediately afterwards the burghers became aware that an army of eight or ten thousand warriors, under the chiefs Molapo, Masupha, Lerothodi, Moperi, Molitsane, and one or two others, was there to protect the kraal. Large bodies of horsemen, yelling defiance, came charging towards them, but halted beyond rifle reach. The hillsides were alive with Basuto foot.

While the Free State forces were vainly endeavouring to draw their opponents into close combat, word was brought that a strong division of the Basuto, under Letsie's son Lerothodi, was marching past them on the other side of a range of hills, with the evident object of attacking the camp. The commando thereupon fell back, and reached the camp in time to assist in its defence. Lerothodi's warriors pressed on in good style, and lost sixty or seventy men before they retired. A renegade European, who was leading one of their columns, was badly wounded by a shell, and died a few days later. On the Free State side, one burgher—Pieter Wessels by name—was killed, and another was slightly wounded.

As the Basuto were beaten back from the camp, the action of the 14th of June was termed a victory by the burghers; though they had not succeeded in making themselves masters of Mabilela.

Next morning a council of war was held. Nearly all the officers were of opinion that it would be an act of rashness to attempt to take the kraal from the strong force there to defend it, and that as the grass had been burnt off before their arrival it would be necessary to move away at once. There was one of the commandants, however, of a different opinion. Lourens Jacobus Wepener, a man held in esteem by all who knew him, for his upright conduct, his enterprising character, and his generous disposition, had moved from Aliwal North into the Free State less than two years before the war, and at its outbreak was elected commandant by the burghers of his district, Bethulie. He

had gained experience in former wars between the Kaffirs and the Cape colonists, being now fifty-three years of age, and having served in every conflict that had taken place since he could use a gun. The opinion which he expressed was that the enemy would be inspired with confidence and the Europeans on the other hand be disheartened, if the army should retreat. It was necessary to take Moperi's kraal and to place the camp upon its site, in order to create enthusiasm among the burghers. To do this was worth a heavy sacrifice. He offered to call for a hundred volunteers from the other divisions, and with these and his own men, who he was confident would follow him, to make an attempt to take the place by storm. But, on the plea that there was very little ammunition in the camp, the gallant commandant's proposal was negatived, and it was decided to fall back.

Some time before the outbreak of hostilities—at least as early as the 29th of May, as is indicated in a letter of that date from Poshuli to Mr. Austen—the Basuto had arranged for an invasion of the Free State. The ordinary preparation of the warriors by the priests had been made. They had sent their women, children, and cattle from the exposed parts of the country into the Maluti mountains, and were only waiting to see in what direction the Free State forces would move.

Before daylight on the morning of the 20th of June, some two thousand warriors under Poshuli and Morosi crossed the Caledon near its junction with Wilgeboom Spruit, and commenced to ravage the district before them. From the farm adjoining the commonage of Smithfield they laid waste a broad belt of country for a distance of thirty miles or 48 kilometres towards Bloemfontein. The inhabitants, warned just in time to save their lives, fled without being able to remove anything. The invaders burned the houses, broke whatever implements they could not set fire to, and drove off more than one hundred thousand sheep, besides great droves of horned cattle and horses. In an

hour the richest men in the district of Smithfield were reduced to destitution.

In this raid thirteen white men lost their lives. A patrol consisting of fifteen burghers was surrounded at Jakhalsfontein, when twelve of them—by name Jacobus Greyling, Louis Taljaard, Pieter Wessels, Jurie Human, Barend Olivier, Pieter Swanepoel, Daniel Robberts, Hendrik Robberts, Hendrik Stroebel, Jacobus Kotze, Robert Robertson, and Peter Bay—were killed. The other three succeeded in cutting their way out. A young man named Hugo Stegmann was murdered in another part of the district.

But the events of the day showed that in a fair field the burghers were able to hold their own against ten times their number of Basuto. A patrol consisting of thirty-five men was surrounded on an open plain, where for hours the raiders hovered round them without daring to come to close quarters, and at nightfall the little band retired with only one man slightly wounded. The invading force was divided into three or four parties, the foremost of which was turned back by a company of eighty farmers. These burghers were joined during the night by a few others, and on the 21st the Basuto, who were then retreating with their booty, were followed up, and were so nearly overtaken that they abandoned between three and four thousand sheep on the right bank of the Caledon.

Another raiding party, about two thousand five hundred or three thousand strong, under Masupha and Moperi, entered the Free State at a point farther north, and ravaged the country as far as the farm on which in October 1866 the present village of Brandfort was founded. This party committed several massacres of a peculiarly barbarous nature.

Most of the half-breeds who had formerly lived at Platberg, and who had acknowledged Carolus Baatje as their head, by permission of the Free State government had been residing for some years at Rietspruit, about forty or forty-five kilometres from Bloemfontein. On the morning of the 27th of June a large party of Basuto carrying a white flag

appeared at the village, and saluted the half-breeds with friendly greetings. Moshesh's son Masupha, who was in command, said that they had nothing to fear, for he was at war with no one but white men. An ox was killed for the entertainment of the visitors, and the Basuto and half-breeds sat down together to partake of food, all the time conversing as friends. When the meal was over, Masupha gave a signal, on which his followers fell without warning upon the wretched half-breeds and murdered fifty-four men and boys, not sparing even male infants at the breast. Of the residents of the village only eight men escaped. Of these, seven were at the time away on a hunting expedition, and one, who was a short distance off when the massacre took place, managed to hide himself in an anteater's den. The murderers compelled the grown-up girls to get into a waggon, which they took away with them, together with such other property of their victims as they fancied, leaving sixty-seven women and little girls behind.

On the following day a large party of Basuto carrying a white flag approached the homestead of a wealthy farmer named Jan Botes, one of those who had been heavily fined by Sir Harry Smith after the battle of Boomplaats. Including two coloured servants, there were only seven individuals capable of bearing arms at the place. Deceived by the white flag, old Mr. Botes permitted the Basuto to come close up and dismount, when they fired a volley which wounded a German schoolmaster named Schwim and killed one of the servants. Old Mr. Botes they stabbed to death with an assagai. The remaining four had by this time seized their guns, and Botes' eldest son shot a Mosuto, but was immediately afterwards killed himself. The other three apparently frightened the assassins, for they pretended to ride away. As soon as they were out of sight, the survivors mounted their best horses, and rode towards the nearest lager. The Basuto followed, and easily overtook Schwim and the women. These they compelled to return. The women lifted Schwim from his horse, and his wife sat down

by him. The Basuto taunted them for a while, then they made a target of the wretched man, and after firing several shots at him, finally stabbed him with assagais. After this, they destroyed everything on the place. When they left, the women set out again for the nearest lager, and after walking all night reached it in the morning.

Another party of Masupha's followers fell in with some travellers on the main road, and murdered two of them, named Michiel van Helsdingen and Carel Mathee. A little farther they overtook a trader named Michiel Theron, who was endeavouring to make his escape, and murdered him and his servants.

On the 29th of June the warriors of Masupha and Moperi were retiring with a booty of seventy thousand sheep, over two thousand head of horned cattle, fifty horses, and four waggons laden with spoil, when at Verkeerde Vlei they were encountered by three burgher patrols which met there by chance. The white men, only two hundred and fifty-eight all told, did not hesitate to attack the Basuto, who were fully ten times their number. Commandant Louis Wessels, of Bloemfontein, led the charge. The result was the rapid flight of the cowardly band, who left one hundred and sixty dead on the field. The burghers had no other casualty than one horse killed. All the spoil that was being driven off by the raiders was recovered, even to the half-breed girls, who were rescued and sent for safety to Bloemfontein.

A third raiding band, consisting of about two thousand warriors of the clans of Molapò and Ramanela, ravaged the country along their line of march to within fifteen miles or twenty-four kilometres of the village of Kroonstad. They murdered an old man named Luttig and a boy named Nieuwenhuizen, and secured a large booty in horned cattle and sheep.

In none of these raids were villages attacked, but the farm houses were set on fire, and everything that could not be carried away was destroyed. The lives of females who

were overtaken were spared, but in most instances they were stripped of clothing and taunted before they were set at liberty.

On the same day that the massacre of the half-breeds took place, an equally atrocious deed was performed in another quarter. A party of Europeans with five transport waggons laden with goods belonging to Messrs. Wm. Munro & Co., of Durban, Natal, and destined for Pretoria in the South African Republic, where the firm of Munro had a branch establishment, had halted to rest their cattle on the Drakensberg, a few metres on the Free State side of the Natal boundary. The party consisted of Pieter Pretorius, who was a near relative of the president of the South African Republic, his sons Jan, Albertus, and Jacobus, Andries Smit, Jan Pretorius's wife and two children, six black men servants, a little black servant boy, and an Indian coolie. The oxen were being inspanned when a large body of armed Basuto under Ramanela made their appearance. The white men caught up their guns, but the Basuto called to them to come and talk as friends. The white men then went towards Ramanela's party and explained that they were not citizens of the Free State nor combatants, and that the goods on their waggons belonged to Englishmen. The explanation appeared to be satisfactory, and in the supposition that they were safe the Europeans laid down their guns, when instantly the Basuto fell upon them and murdered the five white men, the coolie, and three of the black servants. The other servants, being Batlapin, were spared.

The murderers then left a guard with the waggons, and went down into Natal. In the afternoon they returned with large droves of cattle, and went on homewards, taking the waggons with them. On the way the waggon in which the widow and children were confined broke down, and was abandoned after the Basuto had removed the goods and loaded their pack oxen with whatever they thought most valuable. During the night the three Batlapin men made

their escape, and conveyed intelligence of the massacre to Harrismith, when a party was immediately sent out to search for the other survivors. In the meantime the widow with her two children and the little black boy, having left the waggon as soon as the Basuto were out of sight, had lost her way, and only in the morning of the 29th reached the village, after wandering about for thirty-six hours.

On the 27th of June, at the very time that Ramanela's marauding band was lifting cattle in the colony of Natal, Sir Philip Wodehouse issued in Capetown a proclamation of neutrality, in which all British subjects, European and coloured, were warned against assisting either belligerent. It was, however, beyond his power to prevent aid from reaching both the Free State and the Lesuto.

When intelligence of the sufferings of their kindred reached the colony, many a stalwart farmer shouldered his rifle and rode off to the Free State camps. The Batlokua refugees in the Herschel district could not be restrained. Lehana, son of Sikonyela, came up from Griqualand East with a band of followers, was joined by the Herschel party, and crossed the Orange to help the burghers against his hereditary foe. Many of the Fingos of Herschel, calling to mind ancient feuds and probably thinking of plunder, made their way to the nearest lager and tendered their services. Adam Kok, who was supposed to be under colonial influence though he was not under colonial jurisdiction, joyfully seized the opportunity of retaliating upon the Basuto for the robberies of Poshuli and Nehemiah, and brought a band of Griquas to fight certainly for their own hand, but on the Free State side. These auxiliaries all combined amounted at one time during the war to as many as eight hundred men.

On the other hand Moshesh received equal assistance from his friends. The bravest warriors that fought for him were strangers from below the mountains who hastened to the Lesuto with a view of sharing the spoil. Among these was a Tembu clan under a chief named Tshali, the same

people to whom a portion of Emigrant Tembuland was assigned a little later by Sir Philip Wodehouse.

Very different from a declaration of neutrality was a proclamation issued on the 26th of June by Mr. Marthinus Wessel Pretorius, then president of the South African Republic. In the warmest language of sympathy he invited all who could to go to the assistance of the Free State. "Rise brothers, rise fellow citizens, give help where danger threatens. Delay not, or you may be for ever too late. God will bless you for doing good to your brethren. Forward! As soon as possible I will myself follow you." But the people of the northern republic believed that Ketshwayo was threatening them, and though most men agreed with the president that if Moshesh could be compelled to observe his engagements no other tribe would attempt to disturb the peace, it was not possible just then for much assistance to be sent from that quarter.

The devastation of the border country, though it entailed ruinous losses upon individuals, was in a military sense advantageous to the Free State. A larger number of burghers could now be spared for the invasion of the Lesuto, as only small patrols were needed beyond the blackened border belt. The Basuto were almost sure not to venture so far from their mountains, and if they should, a few burghers on a plain would be able to drive them back.

It was therefore resolved in a general council of war that an attempt should be made to get possession of Thaba Bosigo, with which object the Free State forces were to advance upon the famous stronghold in two divisions from different directions.

The burghers of the districts of Smithfield, Bethulie, and Philippolis, with Jan Letele's people and the Fingos, under Commandant Wepener, marched by way of Koesberg. On the 13th of July they formed a camp within easy march of Vechtkop, the strongly fortified mountain which had been for many years the residence of the robber chief Poshuli, but which was garrisoned at this time by the clan of

Lebenya. Wepener resolved to make himself master of this stronghold, which the Basuto believed to be impregnable. During the night he called for volunteers to follow him up the steep path that led to the summit, and his call was gallantly responded to.

In the grey dawn of the morning of the 14th, three hundred and forty burghers and two hundred Fingos, with the brave commandant at their head, stormed up the mountain, and at half past five o'clock, before the light was clear, they were in possession of it. The Basuto were entrenched behind stone walls built on ledges along the faces of precipices, positions so strong that with courageous defenders they could not have been taken. But Lebenya's followers, though they consumed a large quantity of ammunition, shut their eyes when they fired, so that the loss on the Free State side was only one man killed and four wounded. The arrant cowards did something even more disgraceful than firing at an enemy with their eyes closed. They placed their women in front of them wherever they were exposed, with the result that of the sixty dead bodies found in the sconces after the fighting was over, more than half were those of females. The commandant in his report expressed great regret at this circumstance, but no one can justly blame him for it.

The spoil found on Vechtkop consisted of one hundred and fifty horses, five hundred and forty-two head of horned cattle, and four thousand five hundred sheep. The Free State forces were so inconsiderable that it was not possible to leave a garrison even on such an important stronghold as this. All that could be done therefore was to disarm the enemy, who appeared to be thoroughly cowed, destroy the huts, and move on.

From Vechtkop Wepener marched almost due north, destroying Poshuli's villages as he advanced. Morosi, in a great fright, fearing that the commandant might pay him a visit, sent all his women and stock away into the mountains along the head waters of the Orange. On the last day of

July Wepener's division reached Matsieng* and attacked Letsie's force, which gave way after a very short engagement. A camp was then formed in Letsie's town, and from it Wepener issued a proclamation in which he declared the country he had overrun annexed to the Free State, the boundary of the Lesuto to be in future a straight line from Bamboesplaats at the east of Pampoen spruit to Thaba Tele—a peak of the Maluti two thousand seven hundred and forty metres or nine thousand feet in height—about three miles or five kilometres east of Matsieng, and from that point a straight line north by compass to the Caledon. Two days later he sent to the landdrost of Smithfield such cattle taken from Letsie as he did not need. The herd consisted of one thousand one hundred and forty-two horses, three thousand five hundred horned cattle, and eleven thousand five hundred and eighty-five sheep.

During this time the other and larger division of the Free State forces was equally successful in its operations. General Fick had with him the burghers of the districts of Bloemfontein, Harrismith, Boshof, Jacobsdal, Fauresmith, Winburg, and Kroonstad, under Commandants Wessels, De Villiers, Bester, Joubert, Roos, Senekal, Malan, and Fourie. On the 17th of July he moved against Moperi's kraal, but found it abandoned. On the 20th he crossed the Caledon, and proclaimed the whole country north and west of that river annexed to the Free State. On the 24th he crossed the Putiatsana, his passage being unsuccessfully disputed by the enemy.

On the 25th of July General Fick directed an assault upon the Berea mountain. The path up it was steep, but not so dangerous as that of Vechtkop. It was, however, defended by fully five thousand Basuto warriors, under Masupha, the ablest of Moshesh's sons. These were posted on crags and behind great boulders. They were well armed,

* Commonly called "Letsie's new town" in the documents of the time. It is about ten kilometres east of Morija. Letsie took up his residence there after the burning of his huts at Morija in the war of 1858.

many of them with pistols as well as rifles, and they had two cannon at the top of the pathway. The burghers crept up from boulder to boulder, in little parties of five or six together, shooting down every Mosuto who dared to expose himself. Very few, however, ventured even to look at the storming party. The poltroons fired into the air, without doing the slightest damage, and discharged their cannon when no one was in front of them, as if noise alone would frighten back their opponents. Near the top it was necessary for the storming party to close in and make a rush. First upon the mountain were three young men whose names—Chapman, Owen, and Bertram—denote the nation from which they sprang. These gallant fellows actually dashed forward at a crowd of Basuto not half pistol shot from them. Close behind, the remainder of the storming party came clambering up, when the assassins of the half-breeds and of the defenceless white men encountered in the recent raid, panic stricken, abandoned their cannon and turned and fled.

In no former war, in no war that has since taken place, have the Basuto behaved in such a cowardly manner. Well might it be believed in the Free State camp that God had stricken their treacherous foe with confusion, for never in the world's history was a victory won against greater odds. The only casualty was one burgher wounded, while the corpses of a hundred Basuto were lying around. Masupha's kraal was upon the Berea. General Fick took possession of it, and formed his camp upon its site.

The day after the Berea was stormed five hundred Barolong under Tsepinare, Moroko's adopted son and heir, joined the Free State forces. This was a busy day with the burghers. At early dawn eleven hundred men commenced making a waggon road up the mountain. They were looking down on the mission station and on a great Basuto army garrisoning Thaba Bosigo. It was General Fick's intention to fortify a camp about a kilometre from Moshesh's residence, and then to send a strong force to meet Com-

mandant Wepener. In the afternoon Commandant De Villiers' division with the cannon moved from the camp at Masupha's kraal to the south-western point of the Berea over against Thaba Bosigo, to try the range, when the commandant observed with satisfaction that Moshesh's house was struck with balls from both the Armstrong and Whitworth guns.

On the third of August Wepener marched from Matsieng and joined General Fick before Thaba Bosigo, where the entire force of the Free State, consisting of two thousand one hundred burghers, five hundred Barolong, and four hundred Fingos, Batlokua, and Bamonaheng, was now concentrated. Some twenty thousand Basuto warriors were gathered there also, but they could not be drawn to an engagement.

On the 27th of July a heavy fire of artillery was opened upon the flat top of Thaba Bosigo from a battery placed on a point of the Berea which commanded it. The fire was continued day after day, though it was soon ascertained that hardly any destruction of life was caused by it. It was replied to by an occasional ball from Moshesh's cannon, which also did little or no damage.

On the 8th of August an attempt was made to take Thaba Bosigo by storm. A strong party clambered up the pathway at the southern extremity, but on approaching the top found that stone walls had been built across the passage. The Basuto were in great force above, and had collected a number of boulders which they now rolled down on the storming party, compelling them to retire with ten men wounded.

By this time the disorder which it is almost impossible to suppress in a body of men without discipline, huddled together without comfort and without constant occupation, was beginning to show itself in the Free State camp. The burghers and their commandants were socially on a perfect equality, and every man claimed the right of expressing his opinion upon any subject at any time. A dozen different

plans of carrying on the war were discussed, and each plan had violent advocates. Jealousies and divisions were daily increasing.

It was the winter season, and in that high mountain-land the cold winds were keenly felt by the burghers, who were not provided with adequate shelter. It was with great difficulty that fuel could be obtained to cook the millet and meat, which were the principal—and at times the only—food. Subscriptions of coffee, sugar, biscuits, &c., had been made in the villages for the use of the men in the field; but the supply of such articles was very far from sufficient, as the impoverished people were quite unable to give as much as was needed. Altogether, the hardships which the burghers were undergoing were so great that they could not be sustained long. Many men were already becoming faint-hearted, and were devising excuses to leave the camp.

The characteristics of individuals were strongly brought out by the kind of life they were leading. Some became morose, others burned with passion to punish the Basuto for causing so much misery, while a few seemed to grow more joyous and lighthearted as time wore on. In the long cold evenings parties would gather round the scanty fires on which their food was cooking, when the descendants of the old colonists would by turns sing psalms and make plans to finish the war. Close by a party of youths of English birth would cause the hills to echo with songs of love, and war, and the sea. The wits of many were sharpened by the change from the ordinary quiet life of farms and villages to the excitement of war, though unattended by pomp or show of any kind, and accompanied by discomforts that would demoralise the best army in Europe. The newspapers of South Africa contained numerous well-written letters from men who under other circumstances would not have troubled themselves to use a pen, and a large quantity of verse in Dutch and English appeared in print. This, however, was mostly very indifferent as poetry,

though breathing a strong warlike—and in some instances also a vindictive—spirit.*

On the other side, the Basuto were less boastful than at the commencement of the war. They had secured an enormous quantity of spoil in the raids into the Free State, but much of it had been recovered by the burgher forces, and more had been wasted. There was nothing left that they could get in future by similar means. Their armies had been beaten by mere patrols in the open field, and two of their strongholds—Vecht kop and Berea—had been wrested

* Perhaps the best, or, at any rate, among the best of the ballads which the war called forth was the following, written by Mr. William Collins, of Bloemfontein :

Up burghers, all throughout our State, from Nu- to Ky-Gariep,
 Rise as one man, with heart and hand, shake off your seven years sleep.
 Be men at last, whate'er your stock, and prove that poet wrong
 Who called your freedom *mockery*, once in reproachful song.
 Prove that the lion on your shield is not an emblem vain,
 And scorn to wear another hour the foul Basuto chain.
 Shame not the European blood that in your bosoms flows,
 And rush like men, though few you be, on your ignoble foes.
 The Saxon blood which, scarce yet dried, their coward fingers stains,
 Wash out at once with fluid drawn from their own meaner veins.
 Can one true man in danger's hour the field of strife evade,
 While boys and greybeards weak go forth with rifle and with blade ?
 Behold the newly-kindled light in timid woman's eye,
 Which cries, though in unuttered words, " march men and do or die."
 Fear not yon seeming power great, a tottering structure built
 On years of fraud, too long endured, and half an age of guilt.
 Strike the gaunt image in whose shade we pine, without delay,
 Though iron it may seem, your strokes will prove its feet of clay.
 Think of the time when feebler hands a mightier foeman quelled,
 You who then battled, or even you whose youthful eyes beheld
 Your fathers fight the Zulu hosts, and are their sons less brave
 When God and country call you forth your dear-bought homes to save ?
 Wait not for aye for promised help from cold onlooking world,
 By your own hands the avenging bolt must now, or ne'er, be hurled.
 And you, brave few, whose life drops flow from Britain's parent heart,
 Need you my humble words to show in this wild strife your part ?
 Full little knew the treacherous foe how his false words would turn
 To deadlier hate and scorn the hearts where generous passions burn.
 On then, my countrymen, and strive, with heaven-directed might,
 The God of armies will support your conflict for the right.

from them. Still they were by no means despondent, as they anticipated that the burghers would soon be worn out and compelled to withdraw from the Lesuto.

On the 15th of August another attempt was made to take Thaba Bosigo by assault, an attempt made memorable by the death of one of South Africa's bravest sons, Commandant L. J. Wepener. At sunrise six hundred burghers were left to guard the camp, and the rest of the force was moved out with the intention of storming the mountain. Such a want of preparation and above all of coöperation was manifest, however, that General Fick gave up the idea for that day, and issued instructions for a march round the mountain. Commandant Wepener, who thought that a failure to make the attempt would disgrace the Free State forces, then proposed to lead a storming party of volunteers. Commandant Wessels offered to accompany Wepener, and General Fick gladly consented.

The arrangements were speedily made. A heavy artillery fire was opened upon the face and crown of the mountain above the mission station, under cover of which the storming party crept upwards from rock to rock until the entrance to the narrow and steep fissure which leads to the summit was gained. Just before reaching this, Wepener observed that there were not more than a hundred and twenty men with him, many who had volunteered having turned back faint-hearted. He sent down to beg the general to try to get reinforcements, but to the disgrace of the burghers below only a few Fingos offered. Across the entrance to the fissure a strong stone wall over a metre high was found, and it was seen that every few metres between it and the top a similar wall had been built, behind which parties of Basuto were lying completely sheltered from the fire of the artillery. Still the storming party pressed on. At the first wall Wepener fell, shot through the heart, and several of the best men in the commando fell beside him. Commandant Wessels continued to advance, and actually got possession of two or three of the barricades when he was severely

wounded and was obliged to retire. The storming party was then seized with a panic, and rushed in wild confusion down the mountain, followed at a considerable distance by a band of Masupha's warriors hooting and yelling.

Besides Wepener there were nine men — Jacobus Engelbrecht, John Horspoole, Gerrit Joubert, Theodorus van Eeden, Sampson Daniel, Wilhelm Hoevels, Adam Raubenheimer, Jan Dry, and a half-breed named Jacobus Stolz—killed in this second futile attempt to take Thaba Bosigo, and thirty-four others were wounded.

From this repulse until the 23rd no event of any importance took place. The commando lay dispirited in camp, and was rapidly diminishing by desertion. The burghers had been more than two months away from their homes, and could not be kept together now that all hope of a speedy termination of the war had to be abandoned.

Moshesh, who was well informed of what was going on, believed that events were about to take the same course as in 1858, and that if he could but gain a few days grace any danger of another attempt to storm his stronghold would be removed. On the 23rd he wrote to the president, proposing to invite the high commissioner to arrange terms of peace. When this letter was sent down to the camp to be forwarded to Bloemfontein, the chief asked for an armistice. General Fick informed the messenger that if Moshesh would supply fifteen hundred head of slaughter oxen as provision for his army, he would suspend hostilities for six days. On the 24th Moshesh asked that the armistice should be extended beyond six days, but he sent no cattle to the camp. A council of war was therefore held, at which it was decided to resume hostile operations at once, by detaching a force to scour the Maluti in search of cattle, and closely blockading Thaba Bosigo with the remainder.

While these new movements were in preparation, a herd of from sixteen to twenty-five thousand oxen arrived at the mountain. Moshesh had been so certain that the burghers were about to leave that he had given instructions for these

cattle to be brought down to their summer pasturage, and by some mismanagement his orders had been carried out too soon. The whole herd was now driven by the back pathway to the top of Thaba Bosigo, to prevent its falling into the hands of the burghers. This was hardly effected when the investment of the mountain was completed, and then the cattle, without grass or water in a space so confined, soon became frantic. They rushed wildly about, trampling down such huts as the bombardment had spared, and pressing whole droves together over the precipices, where they were dashed to pieces. For many days the moanings of the great herd were pitiful to hear in the camps below. At last these sounds died away, and there lay on Thaba Bosigo over four thousand carcasses, while at least three times that number were decaying on the ledges and crags. A horrible stench filled the atmosphere. Clouds of vultures settled on the carrion, but weeks passed away before it disappeared.

On the 28th of August a messenger from Bloemfontein brought to General Fick the president's reply to Moshesh's letter. Adjutant-General Lange was at once sent with it to the foot of the mountain, where he displayed a white flag. Nehemiah came down, and the president's letter was handed to him, with an intimation that Mr. Lange would wait for a reply from his father Moshesh. In a couple of hours Nehemiah returned with Tsekelo. They stated that George was away—which was an untruth,—and that in his absence Moshesh could not make out the conditions properly. They requested Mr. Lange to go up and see their father, but he declined to do so. Nehemiah then asked for a truce of three days in order that Moshesh might have time for consideration, to which Mr. Lange agreed.

In his reply, which was dated the 25th of August, President Brand stated that he was desirous of peace, not a sham settlement, but a real peace. He proposed the following terms:

1. Moshesh to surrender Thaba Bosigo with all the arms and ammunition there to the Free State forces. The

mountain to be in future occupied by a Free State magistrate, under whose supervision the Basuto chief should govern his people.

2. Moshesh to pay within four days ten thousand head of horned cattle and five thousand horses as war expenses, and thirty thousand head of horned cattle and sixty thousand sheep as compensation for robberies committed and damages caused by his people.

3. The land outside the lines proclaimed by Messrs. Fick and Wepener to be annexed to the Free State.

If these terms were accepted, Moshesh was within three hours after receipt of the letter to send two of his principal sons to remain as hostages in the Free State camp.

Such conditions at first sight seem extravagant. Moshesh was at that moment at the head of an army of twenty thousand men, well supplied with munitions of war, and in possession of an impregnable fortress. The Free State army, that never exceeded three thousand combatants, was rapidly melting away. But the president felt that this combat was one of life or death, and that if civilisation was not to recede the Basuto power must be broken. The burghers were going home, it was true, but nearly every man promised to return after a short visit to his family. The religious fervour of the people was high. Men everywhere not only said, but really believed, that God would certainly bless their righteous cause.

The women showed a spirit of the deepest devotion. Family ties in South Africa are stronger than in most countries, and the absence of the men from their homes was attended with losses and privations to their kindred which it would be difficult to overestimate. But wives and mothers were at this time urging the men to do their duty and free the state from the losses and indignities to which it had so long been exposed.

Then there was unexpected hope of aid. On the 20th of July President Pretorius considered the South African Republic in such danger that, by advice of the executive

council, he proclaimed martial law in force. By this proceeding the courts were closed for the hearing of civil cases, judgments for debt were suspended, and even the payment of certain taxes was postponed.

But shortly after this Ketshwayo gave Commandant-General Kruger assurances that he had no hostile intentions, and, to show that he was in earnest, he removed his army from the Utrecht border and sent the regiments to their respective kraals. This enabled the government to act vigorously, and on the 7th of August President Pretorius demanded from Moshesh the delivery of the murderers of the citizens of the South African Republic on the 27th of June and payment of the value of the property seized, with the alternative of war. A commando of two hundred men, under Marthinus Schoeman, was sent to Zoutpansberg to assist in the protection of the Europeans in lager there; and a strong force, under Commandant-General Paul Kruger, was called out to march to the Lesuto in case Moshesh should not comply with the president's demand, which it was almost certain he would not do.

Under these circumstances, the Free State cause appeared to President Brand so hopeful as to justify him in endeavouring to make conditions that would prevent the Basuto from again disturbing the peace. He stated subsequently that he did not expect his terms to be accepted in their entirety; he proposed them, but left it open for Moshesh to offer modifications. This is a course followed between civilised nations, but it is beyond question that a much better plan in dealing with barbarians is to say at once, *this I will accept and nothing less.*

CHAPTER LXXIV.

THE WAR OF 1865-6 BETWEEN THE ORANGE FREE STATE AND THE BASUTO TRIBE—(*continued*).

ON the day following the receipt of the president's letter, Moshesh wrote to the high commissioner Sir Philip Wodehouse that he could not comply with the terms, which were immoderate, and requested his Excellency to come and establish peace, offering at the same time to give himself and his country up to her Majesty's government under conditions to be afterwards agreed upon. This letter was sent to Aliwal North under charge of George Moshesh, who left with instructions to wait there until a reply should arrive.

Moshesh did not reply to the president until the 17th of September. All this time a constant cannonading upon Thaba Bosigo had been kept up, but without causing any damage. Mr. William Reed, an Englishman who was sent to Moshesh with a letter from the high commissioner, and who spent five days on the mountain, described the condition of affairs there to Mr. Burnet for his Excellency's information. There were from fifteen hundred to eighteen hundred people with Moshesh, mostly men, who were disposed in pickets along the edge of the mountain. There was no scarcity of food apparent. About three hundred head of cattle were still alive, together with ten horses and a hundred and fifty sheep and goats. In addition to meat, there was plenty of millet and coffee. The only article of which the Basuto were short was lead, consequently there was not much firing, only about a hundred shots a day. There were five white renegades with Moshesh, one of whom was a gunsmith.

The reply of Moshesh, which was written and signed by Tsekelo, was to the effect that the conditions proposed by Mr. Brand were too severe for him to comply with, and he asked that a communication might be opened between them through the medium of the adjutant-general. Mr. Reed had informed him that the president had just arrived in the camp.

To this Mr. Brand answered that he considered the conditions necessary to secure a real and permanent peace, but that he was willing to consider any modifications which Moshesh might wish to suggest. The chief could deliver a written statement of such modifications to the adjutant-general. At the same time the president complained of Moshesh making use of his son Tsekelo as his secretary. This young chief's character was such that a European would instinctively shrink from having any dealings with him, though the Basuto revered him on account of his birth. He had been false to every one who had at any time trusted him, he was a convicted horsestealer, and he was notorious for his amours with his own brothers' wives.

On the following day—the 18th—Moshesh asked for an armistice, in order that he might have a personal interview with Mr. Lange. This was conceded, and the interview took place, but without any good result. Moshesh was indisposed to make any concessions whatever. He sent a statement in writing to the president that his desire was to come to peace on equal terms; that he had fully considered the proposed conditions, and found he could not comply with any of them; and that he would agree to nothing but the boundary defined by his Excellency the governor of the Cape Colony. Mr. Brand could therefore only declare the armistice at an end.

By the 25th of September the Free State forces had become so weak from desertion that the council of war resolved to raise the siege of Thaba Bosigo. The men who remained were formed into a couple of flying columns, one of which, under Commandant Pieter Wessels, was to scour

the country along the Orange, while the other, under General Fick, proceeded to the north to join a force then on its way from the South African Republic, and afterwards to attack Molapo.

The Transvaal burghers — nine hundred and seventy in number — were accompanied by President Pretorius, but were under the military direction of Commandant-General Paul Kruger. On the 28th of September they encamped at Naauwpoort, and there, at three o'clock the next morning, they were attacked by Molapo's followers aided by a party of warriors from beyond the mountains. The burghers were taken completely by surprise, for the first intimation that an enemy was in the neighbourhood was the rush of the Basuto into their camp. But to spring to their feet and grasp their weapons was the work of only a few seconds. The fight was short, for the assailants speedily retreated, receiving a volley of slugs as they fled. Six burghers were killed, and in the morning the dead bodies of fifty-four Basuto were found.

On the 3rd of October General Kruger encamped at Sikonyela's Hoed, and three days later he effected a junction with General Fick's force in sight of Molapo's town of Leribe, since 1858 the mission station of the reverend Mr. Coillard. The united commandos consisted of only twelve hundred men. The Basuto did not wait to be attacked, but a little before sunset they set their kraals on fire, and fled. That evening General Fick proclaimed the district between the Caledon and the Putiatsana Free State territory.

The combined forces then scoured the country without any opposition and without any result, until the 23rd, when they encountered the enemy in great force at Cathcart's Drift on the Caledon. The seers had predicted that at this place their countrymen would be triumphant, the warriors had partaken of raw flesh torn from the bodies of still living bulls to give them courage, and all the ceremonies which their religion imposed had been carefully observed. The Basuto were thus confident of victory, and awaited the

shock of battle more manfully than on any previous occasion during the war. But after a short and sharp engagement they broke and fled, leaving seven hundred and seventy horses, seven thousand nine hundred and forty-four head of horned cattle, and four thousand one hundred and fifty sheep, which were grazing in the neighbourhood, in the hands of the conquerors.

It had been the custom when cattle were captured to give up any that individual burghers swore to as having been stolen from them. All that remained were sold at auction, and the proceeds—after deducting the government dues of one-fourth—were distributed among the captors. This system gave rise to a great deal of jealousy and ill-feeling, as it was known that on many occasions cattle were claimed and sworn to by people who had no right to them. Commandant-General Kruger introduced another rule. Cattle once in possession of the Basuto, he declared, were lost to their previous owners, and could not be reclaimed as a matter of right. It was exposing unprincipled men to temptation to give them every ox they chose to swear to; and therefore, except under special circumstances, all stock taken from the enemy should be kept for the benefit of the captors.

On the 30th of October General Kruger's force set out to return home, without making peace with Moshesh before it left. The burghers could not be kept longer in the field, and the president and commandant-general were anxious to investigate matters at Zoutpansberg. The Free State was thus again left entirely to its own resources to carry on the war.

On the 1st of November Commandant Pieter Wessels with a small party of burghers, a few Fingos from Herschel, Jan Letele's Bamonaheng, and Lehana's Batlokua, attacked Morosi's clan on the north bank of the Orange river. On this and the following day one hundred and five Baputi were killed, and fifty-three horses, nine hundred and thirty-four head of horned cattle, and two thousand and thirty-

two sheep were captured. Morosi in this extremity sent messengers to Mr. John Austen, superintendent of the Wittebergen reserve and the nearest colonial officer, to ask to be taken under British protection. He did this without any reference to Moshesh. Mr. Austen at once forwarded the application to Mr. Burnet, civil commissioner of Aliwal North, for transmission to Sir Philip Wodehouse. On the 5th of November Morosi sent to Mr. Austen to say that if he was attacked again he would take refuge with his whole following in the reserve.

As it would not be possible to get a reply from Cape-town within a fortnight, Mr. Austen then wrote to Commandant Wessels offering his services as a mediator, and an arrangement was made by which Morosi on payment of five hundred head of cattle obtained an armistice until the president could be communicated with. Mr. Brand offered to conclude a final peace with him on his paying three hundred horses, three thousand head of horned cattle, and fifteen thousand sheep, within fifteen days, and giving two of his sons or sub-chiefs as hostages for his good conduct. These terms, which must be viewed as remarkably lenient considering the part which the Baputi took in the raid into the Smithfield district, were rejected by Morosi. A day or two later he learned that the high commissioner declined to entertain his application. Some of his followers then fled to the reserve, but the chief himself with the greater number of his people retired to the rugged country near the sources of the Orange, and took no further part in the war.

The failure of the attempt to take Thaba Bosigo necessitated the raising of additional forces by the Free State. In a civilised community it is not possible under any circumstances for more than about one-fifteenth of the whole number of inhabitants to be employed at any one time in war beyond their own borders. Very few nations can put that proportion into the field, for it implies an almost total cessation of ordinary industries. The republic could not on

this basis send more than two thousand three hundred and fifty burghers into the Lesuto, and that number was insufficient, even if it could be kept up. In point of fact two thousand one hundred was the highest number ever attained during the war, and the army could not be kept longer than two months at that strength. The president therefore, as the only means of increasing his force, commissioned Messrs. Webster and Tainton, two competent and popular officers, to raise bodies of European and coloured volunteers. The Free State had no funds, and therefore the only pay that could be offered to the volunteers was such cattle as they could capture.

The high commissioner, however, regarded this method of raising an army with no favourable eye. The greatest difficulty that the colonial government had to contend with was the tendency of the Bantu tribes to appropriate that which did not belong to them, and here was a direct invitation to enter upon a career of fighting for booty. He had issued a proclamation of neutrality, which the imperial authorities had entirely approved of, and as it was evident that any volunteers must be British subjects, here was an invitation to restless spirits in the colony to set the government at defiance. On the 7th of November he addressed a letter of remonstrance to the president, and on the 28th of the same month he wrote in still stronger terms, threatening that if the practice was continued he would prohibit the supply of arms and ammunition to the Free State. The colonial officers on the frontier were directed to use the utmost vigilance to prevent infractions of the foreign enlistment act, and a reward of £50 was offered for the conviction of any one found recruiting in the colony.

From this time until the end of the year very little occurred that is worthy of notice. On the 1st of December General Fick after a sharp skirmish took possession of Leribe for the second time, when Molapo fled to Thaba Patsoa, a strong mountain about fifteen miles or twenty-four kilometres to the eastward, in the Maluti range. On

the 6th an engagement between the burghers, four hundred and fifty in number, and some three thousand Basuto, took place at Platberg, when General Fick lost three men and the Basuto lost fifty. Early in the month the chief Lebenya with his followers abandoned the Basuto cause, crossed over into the Wittebergen reserve, and claimed British protection.

The Basuto avoided meeting their opponents in force, but whenever an opportunity occurred of cutting off small parties they took advantage of it. They did not spare those of their own colour who were in service with the burghers. Thus, on one occasion about this time three Europeans and two blacks were surprised when gathering fuel, and were all murdered. On another occasion two white men, father and son, and two blacks, who ventured with waggons too near the Lesuto, were captured and were all put to death. In most instances the dead bodies were mutilated in a shocking manner. The Free State forces, on their part, were doing what they could to weaken their enemy by destroying the crops and picking up a few cattle here and there.

At this stage it will be well to relate the consequences of Ramanela's raid into Natal on the 27th of June, as that event can hardly be separated from the war.

After the murder of Pieter Pretorius's party, the followers of Ramanela descended the Drakensberg and entered a part of Natal where cattle kept on the highlands of the Harri-smith district during the hot season were usually sent to graze in the winter months. A good many farmers were in fact residents of Natal at one season of the year, and of the Free State at another. The raiders seized two hundred and forty-eight horses, one thousand six hundred and nineteen head of horned cattle, one thousand seven hundred and seven sheep, and three hundred and seven goats, valued altogether, with the damage done to other property, at from £17,000 to £20,000. They wounded one white man, and killed three blacks.

The first rumours of this inroad which reached the government at Maritzburg were exaggerations of the real facts, and created unnecessary alarm. The volunteers of the colony were immediately called out, and with all the available troops were sent to Ladismith. The colonial secretary—Major Erskine,—and the secretary for native affairs—Mr. Theophilus Shepstone,—proceeded to the border to take measures for its defence, and the resident magistrate of Weenen was sent to Molapo to ask for redress. The volunteers on their way to the front detected a party of Basuto plundering a farm, but the marauders fled so hastily that they could not be overtaken.

On the 5th of July Molapo informed the representatives of the Natal government that Ramanela had acted in disobedience of positive orders; that the stolen stock was being collected by him for the purpose of being restored; that he, for his father and himself, was willing to pay compensation for damages; and also that, if required, he would try to deliver Ramanela for punishment. On the faith of these assurances the volunteers were permitted to return home, and Major Erskine went back to his duties at Maritzburg. The imperial troops, consisting of infantry and artillery, were left at Ladismith, and Mr. Shepstone with a few Cape mounted riflemen and a thousand Natal blacks formed a camp on the Basuto border.

Sir Percy Douglas, who then commanded the British troops in South Africa, was at the time in Maritzburg. He sent intelligence of the inroad overland to King-Williams-town, whence it was conveyed by telegraph to the high commissioner, who alone had authority to deal with independent chiefs. On receipt of the telegram Sir Philip Wodehouse sent to Moshesh, requiring him to restore the stolen stock instantly, to make reparation for the damage done, and to prohibit such acts in future. Moshesh replied that before the demand reached him he had begun to collect the cattle for the purpose of sending them back, and had given orders that anything missing should be replaced.

This letter ought to have proved to Sir Philip Wodehouse, if proof was still wanting, how utterly untrustworthy Moshesh's statements were. He had not done as he said. A few days before his letter was written, his son Molapo had returned thirty-nine horses, one hundred and sixty-one head of horned cattle, one hundred and ninety-four sheep, and forty goats, and had informed Mr. Shepstone that Moshesh and Letsie not only did not approve of the promises he had made, but that Moshesh had sent word that Ramanela would not be compelled to make restitution. Molapo believed that Letsie would be well pleased if the Natal forces were to enter his district, which was contiguous to the Natal border, and punish him for the acts of Ramanela, though that marauder was not in the least under his control. He offered to abandon his father and brother, and to place himself and his people under the protection and control of the Natal government. The high commissioner, however, would only deal with Moshesh as the head of the tribe.

The apparent impunity with which the inroad had been made was an encouragement to bands of robbers to make Natal a field of operations, and early in August a case of cattle-lifting on such a large scale occurred that by the government and the people it was commonly spoken of as a second raid. Moshesh in the mean time was dealing with the matter as if it was of little importance. Utterly regardless of truth, he wrote to Mr. Shepstone, as he had written to Sir Philip Wodehouse, that he had given orders to Ramanela to restore everything without delay.

After waiting two months, as the only cattle sent back were the few delivered by Molapo, the high commissioner concluded that it was necessary to make a more formal demand than he had hitherto done. He declined to take into consideration the expense which the Natal government had incurred, and resolved to call upon the Basuto to refund nothing more than the actual value of the property taken and destroyed. He believed that upon the estimate received from Natal ten thousand head of full-grown cattle would

suffice to cover this, and on the 26th of August he wrote to Moshesh calling upon him to give instructions for the immediate delivery to the officers of the Natal government of that number or an equivalent in sheep at the rate of five sheep for each bullock. This letter was forwarded from Aliwal North to Thaba Bosigo by a special messenger, Mr. William Reed.

Mr. Reed proceeded by way of Bloemfontein, where he found the president just leaving for the camp, and accompanied him to Thaba Bosigo. At the foot of the mountain he displayed an English flag, upon which Moshesh sent down for him, and he at once went up. Forty or fifty paces from the top the chief and his son Tsekelo met him, when Tsekelo read and interpreted his Excellency's letter. Mr. Reed was taken to a cave about fifty metres from the summit of the mountain, where he lodged for several days, until Moshesh was pleased to send him back with a reply, compelling him at the same time to avoid the Free State camp and to take a circuitous path through the Lesuto. The letter which he carried back was dated the 18th of September. In it Moshesh said, "The cattle stolen from the Natal territory have been restored to that government. I have already given myself and whole of my country into the hands of the Queen's government. Your Excellency may therefore consider the whole of the Basutoland under your jurisdiction, to deal with us, and the compensation demanded, according to your Excellency's discretion."

There was certainly a difficulty in dealing according to the ideas of Europeans with a man who could dictate such a letter as this. What the high commissioner did was to inform the chief that until the question of making good the damage caused by Ramanela was disposed of, he was precluded from entertaining proposals for closer union between the British government and the Basuto. He then directed Mr. Burnet to proceed to Thaba Bosigo and endeavour to induce Moshesh to issue positive instructions for the delivery of the cattle and the punishment of

Ramanela. The Natal government was requested to send commissioners to meet Mr. Burnet, and to receive any cattle that he might succeed in obtaining.

While these officers of the different governments were making their way to Thaba Bosigo, the old chief was dictating letters to Mr. Shepstone, at one time stating that his difficulty in sending the cattle was the presence of the Free State forces, and at another time that a drove was about to leave.

Mr. Burnet arrived at Thaba Bosigo on the 2nd of November. He found the sub-chiefs of Southern Basutoland willing to contribute towards making up the number of cattle demanded by the high commissioner, and at his request they collected about three thousand head. Moshesh himself gave nothing, and so far was he from being desirous of settling the matter that he actually selected the choicest cattle contributed by his vassals, and reserved them for himself. Mr. Burnet persuaded him to dictate an order to Molapo to punish Ramanela and to make up the deficiency of the cattle; but when the commissioner proceeded to Leribe with the order, the old chief sent to his son countermanding it. It was quite hopeless to expect anything like fair dealing from him, and Mr. Burnet came to the conclusion that the only satisfactory plan would be to negotiate directly with Letsie and Molapo.

These chiefs, like their father, were at this time entirely under the control of seers, diviners, and priests. Molapo was subject to fits of insanity, which the missionaries attributed to remorse for having abjured Christianity, but which Mr. Burnet attributed to over-indulgence in sensuality. They were both urgent to be taken under British protection. Their aims, however, were widely different. Molapo addressed himself to the government of Natal, and made no secret of his desire to be independent of his brother. Letsie addressed the high commissioner, and asked for protection in order that at his father's death he might remain the head of a tribe that must otherwise break into fragments.

After more than a month's exertion Mr. Burnet believed that he had got together between four and five thousand head of cattle. Messrs. Macfarlane and Uys, the Natal commissioners, had gone to Bloemfontein, and procured from the president a safe-conduct through Free State territory for the drove and one hundred Basuto herdsmen. Mr. Burnet then, having done all that he could, returned home and sent a full report of his proceedings to the high commissioner. Instead, however, of between four and five thousand head reaching Natal, only two thousand one hundred and forty-one were delivered to Mr. Ayliff, the officer selected to distribute them, the others having been detained by Moshesh for his own use after Mr. Burnet's departure.

From the first the Natal officers were convinced that nothing but force would cause the Basuto chief to make restitution, and they would long since have employed force if the high commissioner had not restrained them. On the 8th of January 1866 Sir Philip Wodehouse signed a document authorising the Natal government to send an armed expedition into the Lesuto to compel payment of the full demand; but before the mail left Capetown he received a letter from the lieutenant-governor enclosing a report from Mr. Ayliff, in which that officer stated that the cattle already received would suffice to compensate those from whom stock had been stolen to the extent of fifty per cent, and leave a few oxen over. Immediately on reading this, the high commissioner, only too glad to avoid proceeding to hostilities, cancelled the permission he had given, on the ground that his demand must have been excessive. After this date there was some further correspondence, but nothing more was ever paid by the Basuto, nor was Ramanela ever punished for his raid into Natal.

At the beginning of the year 1866 the Free State forces in the field were too weak to act on the offensive, and during the heat of midsummer it was impossible to increase them. The Basuto took advantage of this opportunity to

renew their inroads into the border districts. On the 8th of January the people of Molitsane made a sudden swoop upon the village of Winburg. They burned four houses in the outskirts, killed two Europeans and seven black herds-men whom they surprised on the commonage, and swept off all the cattle belonging to the place. Only thirty - three burghers could be mustered to go in pursuit, but this little band overtook the Bataung, shot three of them, and recovered all the stock except about a hundred horses.

On the 22nd of January the village of Bethlehem was attacked by three or four thousand of Molapo's warriors. On the commonage they captured a burgher and a black servant, and murdered both. But there happened to be in Bethlehem at the time a patrol under Commandant De Villiers, of whose presence the Basuto were ignorant. The commandant speedily mustered one hundred and twenty - five burghers and one hundred and fifty Batlokua, and with this puny force he drove back the assailants, followed them up some distance, and shot down more than two hundred of them.

The high commissioner, seeing no probability of a speedy termination of this wretched condition of affairs, and fearing that disorder would increase in the Cape Colony on account of it, at this juncture—20th of January 1866—wrote to President Brand, tendering his services for the negotiation of an equitable peace. While the combatants were opposing their full strength to each other he had deemed it unadvisable to interfere. In reply to a request of Moshesh that he would come and make peace, he had then written—25th of September 1865—that it was impracticable at that juncture to interpose between him and the Free State with propriety, or with any prospect of a good result to either party. But now to all outward appearances the republic was without an army and utterly helpless, while the Basuto seemed to be nothing better than a mob of cowards in the field and cut-throats when a victim could be secured.

The high commissioner believed that peace could not be permanent while the Free State and the Lesuto were alike

independent of control. War would probably be renewed, he wrote, after the lapse of a few years, when one of the parties might think itself strong enough to attempt the destruction of its neighbour. To prevent this, he proposed to the secretary of state for the colonies—13th of January 1866—that the Basuto, in accordance with the repeated requests of the chiefs, should be accepted as British subjects, and that an attempt should be made to govern them for their own good and for the common good of South Africa.

But the ink on these despatches was hardly dry when the aspect of affairs was entirely changed. President Brand had been making most forcible appeals to his people, and largely owing to his exertions, in the beginning of February the burghers again took the field in force. On this occasion two thousand men mustered under arms, and were divided into four distinct columns, under General J. I. J. Fick, and Commandants Cornelis de Villiers, Louis Wessels, and Pieter Wessels. Let it be remembered that if the same proportion of the population of the British islands were placed under arms in a foreign country, that army would muster two millions of men, and a good idea can be formed of the effort made by the Free State.

On the 5th of February the volksraad met. The members unanimously placed on record their approval of the action of the president in declaring war, and carried by a large majority a resolution ratifying the annexation to the state of the territory within the lines proclaimed by Messrs. Fick and Wepener and subsequently by the president. On the 7th a matter was brought forward which more than anything that preceded it damaged the Free State cause in the estimation of people in Europe. On that day numerous petitions were read, praying that the French missionaries should be expelled from the territory recently annexed.

There were ten stations in that territory, and whether the missionaries remained or not, they could have no reasonable expectation that Basuto communities would be permitted to gather there again, if the Europeans could prevent it. A

powerful nation can afford to be magnanimous with a puny opponent; but in a life or death struggle such as this, when the weaker combatant has been forced into war and conquers, prudence demands that every possible advantage be taken of the victory. The Free State would not have been acting as every nation in the world has acted since the dawn of history if it had not tried permanently to weaken its enemy in the only way in which it could be done. As a measure of safety, the mission stations on territory wrested from the Basuto must therefore have been doomed. But this was not sufficient reason for driving the French clergymen from their homes.

There was a general impression among the burghers that the missionaries acted as special pleaders for the Basuto, regardless altogether of the merits or demerits of their case, that they gave advice in military matters, that some of them took part in fighting, and that in consequence they were more hurtful as enemies than the Basuto themselves.

No impartial person who thoroughly examines the evidence that their writings afford will be able to acquit the missionaries as a body of being special pleaders, though even in this respect there were several of them on whom no imputation can in justice be cast. No one with ordinary power of discrimination will take mission reports to be faithful representations of the whole life or actions of a people. At best they only represent the life of a small section of such a tribe as the Basuto as seen from a standpoint very limited in range of view. The burghers were unreasonably incensed when they read letters from missionaries and reports in mission journals which pictured the Basuto as a very different people from what they knew them to be. They made no allowance for the position of the writers, nor regarded it as natural that their sympathy should be with the people among whom they lived and laboured. A single individual thrown among a mass of people of different sentiments usually comes to adopt their ideas. The action of the many minds affects the one

insensibly, unless the one is possessed of unusual individuality. This is particularly observable in the lives of missionaries in secluded situations, who have studied the languages of their pupils and have striven to find out the meanings of quaint expressions and the powers of barbarian thought. It is not surprising that such men become the champions of those among whom their lot is cast, that they expatiate upon their virtues and fail to see their vices: it would rather be surprising if it were not so.

To say that some of the missionaries acted injudiciously is only saying that they were men. That they gave advice in military matters is not proved, and as regards most of them is highly improbable. That they committed any overt act hostile to the Free State will not be believed or even suspected after a careful examination of all the evidence.

The discussion upon the memorials by the volksraad shows extreme ignorance in most of the members of public opinion in Europe. That the expulsion of the missionaries would cause an outcry in England against the Free State was not taken into consideration. The members even supposed that their statements would refute those of the missionaries everywhere, without the slightest recognition of the fact that hardly a dozen people in all Europe would hear their version of the case, while the missionaries commanded the most complete means for publishing their side of the story that the world has ever known.

The president spoke earnestly against any interference with men who had been trying to enlighten the heathen; but the majority of the volksraad held with the memorialists, and a resolution was carried that as the missionaries had not confined themselves to their calling but had taken part in political matters, and as their sympathy with the Basuto was in its operation detrimental to the Free State, all those in the annexed territory must remove before the 1st of March, and those who should desire to remain in the Free State must take up their residence at such places as the executive council should point out. Whatever property

they could not remove was to be respected. They were to be obliged to bind themselves in writing to have no correspondence directly or indirectly with any one in the Lesuto during the war, to do or undertake nothing against the safety or the interests of the Free State, and to see that nothing was so done by their households.

At the beginning of the war the Paris Evangelical Society had twelve principal stations, thirteen ordained clergymen, two medical missionaries, and two lay assistants. There were eighteen hundred church members, several thousands had been baptized, and the missionaries believed that about one-tenth of Moshesh's tribe was directly or indirectly under their influence.

The missionaries who were expelled from the scenes of their former labour were Mr. Dumas, of Mekuatleng, Mr. Coillard, of Leribe, Mr. Mabile, of Morija, Mr. Dyke and Dr. Casalis, of Hermon, Mr. Germond, of Thabana Morena, Mr. Maeder, of Siloe, Messrs. S. and E. Rolland, of Poortje, Mr. Cochet, of Hebron, and Messrs. Ellenberger and Gossellin, of Bethesda, with their families forty-six individuals in all. Mr. Keck was permitted to remain at Maboela, though within the annexed territory. On account of the destruction of the mission buildings, Dr. Lautre and his family were at the same time compelled to abandon the station at Thaba Bosigo, so that the French mission was for a time nearly broken up. Most of its members retired to Aliwal North.

A Roman Catholic mission had been established at Korokoro shortly before the outbreak of the war, but was not affected by the resolution of the volksraad. The Roman Catholic missionaries indeed were never suspected by the burghers of interference in political matters, and were therefore left unmolested.

On the 21st of February the volksraad took into consideration the high commissioner's offer to act as a mediator, and after a lengthy discussion, on the 22nd the following resolution was adopted:

"The volksraad instructs his Honour the state president to inform his Excellency that the government of this state has been compelled to wage the present war for the maintenance of violated rights, which had been recognised and accepted by the treaty of Aliwal North; that the volksraad, in the interests of religion, morality, and social progress, heartily desires the termination of the war, and eagerly longs for a peace which shall offer the guarantees of permanency; that the volksraad has learnt with a feeling of gratitude the benevolent offer of mediation by his Excellency, but entertains the conviction, grounded on an experience of many years, that the Basuto will not respect the stipulations of any treaty of peace, unless they be forced to the acceptance of such a treaty by the power of our arms, and unless they be driven to feel that the Free State is sufficiently powerful to cause the Basuto to perform the conditions of any treaty that may be concluded, and to compel them thereto, should need be, by force of arms; that this government has determined, and the people of the state are willing, to undergo any amount of sacrifice, and to prosecute the war until such a desirable object shall have been attained; for which reasons the volksraad considers the present juncture as not favourable for such a mediation, and feels to be not yet in a position to avail itself of the benevolent offer of his Excellency."

The next day was the twelfth anniversary of the state's independence. The members of the volksraad met at ten in the morning, not to transact business, but to listen to addresses from the chairman, the president, Mr. J. J. Venter, and Advocate Hamelberg, upon the blessings received from the Almighty, the difficulties overcome by the republic during its existence, the duty of the burghers, and the patriotism displayed by those who—like Wepener—had lost their lives in the service of their country. All spoke with hope and confidence that the war would soon be brought to an end by the submission of the Basuto. At the close of the addresses, Advocate Hamelberg presented a poem, which was adopted as the national anthem of the state. It had been set to music by a gentleman named Nicolai, and was sung on this occasion by a choir composed of several of the best male voices of Bloemfontein and a large number of ladies.

While the volksraad was deliberating, the burghers in the field were not idle. On the 19th of February Commandant

De Villiers with two hundred men defeated two thousand of Molapo's and Ramanela's warriors, killed sixty of them, and wounded a great number. On the 21st Mr. F. Senekal, who had been commandant-general in the war of 1858, was killed while leading a patrol belonging to this force.

On the 23rd of February the combined commandos of Messrs. Fick and De Villiers, consisting of the Winburg, Harrismith, and Kroonstad burghers, five hundred and forty-six in number, with sixty-one blacks as scouts, left their camp near Leribe with the intention of scouring the Drakensberg. They spent that night on the bank of the Orange river where there was no fuel to be had, without other shelter than their blankets, though heavy rain was falling with occasional showers of hail.

On the 24th they penetrated farther into the mountains, the rain still continuing with a cold north-west wind. On the 25th, 26th, and 27th they scoured the mountains, which rose in an endless succession of peaks and tables around them. They were over two thousand seven hundred and fifty metres or nine thousand feet above the level of the sea, and though the summer was not yet past and the heat on the plains from which they had come up was unpleasantly great, they were suffering severely from cold. A heavy mist filled the ravines, and at night rain fell in drizzling showers. Some of the burghers had never felt such chilling air before, and as their clothing and blankets were wet and there was no fuel of any kind to be obtained, they were undergoing great discomfort.

The 28th was a clear warm day. That night they spent on the very crown of the Drakensberg, where on one side the rich grasslands of Natal lay at a vast depth beneath them, and on the other side they could look down on a sea of cloud and mist covering the rugged belt of desolation which they had just passed through. They were above the rain and hail from which they had suffered so much, and on the mountain top they passed the night in excellent spirits, though they were weary and the air was cold.

At four in the morning of the 1st of March the burghers left their elevated sleeping place, and before noon they were again in the belt of rain and hail. On the 2nd while passing through a gorge under Thaba Patsoa their advance guard was attacked by about two thousand Basuto, whose chief object was to recover the droves of cattle which were being driven on behind. The Basuto, however, were speedily put to flight. In the afternoon the burghers reached the camp which they had left eight days before, without having lost one of their number or having one wounded. They brought in one hundred and eighty-four horses, two thousand seven hundred and twenty-two head of horned cattle, and three thousand five hundred sheep; and they had counted thirty bodies of Basuto whom they had killed.

This expedition brought Molapo to treat for peace. On the 4th of March two Basuto carrying a white flag came into General Fick's camp with a letter from that chief, in which he asked on what terms peace would be granted to himself and to the whole tribe. General Fick replied, referring him to the president. The messenger returned speedily with another letter, in which Molapo stated that he wished to conclude peace for himself independently of the remainder of the tribe. General Fick then offered an armistice of eight days, to give time to communicate with the president, on condition of one hundred and fifty slaughter oxen being furnished as provision for the commando. The chief replied, asking for a personal conference with the general halfway between the camp and his stronghold; but when on the morning of the 6th the general with twenty-five burghers went to the appointed place he was told that Molapo's captains were unwilling that he should venture away from the mountain. They requested that an officer might be sent to confer with him. Adjutant A. van den Bosch with only a black interpreter then went up into Molapo's retreat, which he found to be a natural stronghold so well fortified as to be impregnable

if held by men of courage. The chief agreed to the terms of the armistice, and the adjutant went back to the camp, taking with him Joel, Molapo's second son, as a hostage for the delivery of the cattle and for his father's good conduct.

The camp of Commandant Louis Wessels was at this time at Berea. Molapo had requested that he might be permitted to communicate with his father, and General Fick agreed to send his messengers to the camp at Berea at the same time that the despatches were forwarded to Bloemfontein. Commandant Wessels conducted the messengers to the foot of Thaba Bosigo, and a few hours afterwards they returned to his camp with Moshesh's son Sophonia, who asked if his father could not be included in the armistice granted by General Fick to Molapo. The commandant replied that if Moshesh would make written proposals he would take them into consideration. Moshesh then wrote that he wished to make peace on equal terms, to which he received for answer that if he desired to communicate with the president the commandant would agree to an armistice on condition of being supplied with one hundred slaughter cattle. The old chief tried to haggle, by sending down a drove of sixty-six cows and calves, but ultimately he complied with the terms proposed.

Letsie, on being informed of what was taking place elsewhere, also made overtures for an armistice, which Commandant Pieter Wessels granted upon payment of fifty slaughter oxen.

There was thus a general suspension of hostilities, which was only disturbed by a raid of the Bataung on Winburg commonage on the 5th of March, when they succeeded in driving off some stock; and a second raid by the same people in another direction five days later, when they were met by a party of burghers and driven back with a loss of nineteen killed.

The president was detained at Bloemfontein by business that could not be neglected, but the truce was prolonged

until he could get away. On the 21st of March he and the unofficial members of the executive council arrived at Commandant Louis Wessels' camp close to Thaba Bosigo. Moshesh was communicated with, but as he declined to make peace on any other than equal terms, the armistice with him was declared to be at an end. Letsie took up the same position as his father, in consequence of which hostilities were resumed on the 22nd, when a patrol was sent to scour Mohali's Hoek, and the cattle of the two southern commandos were turned into the cornfields of Letsie and Makwai to destroy them. Nehemiah, however, sought an interview with the president, stated his intention of abandoning the cause of his father and brother, and requested that he and his people should be received as Free State subjects. After a little consideration by the executive council, his request was acceded to, but his following was too small to make his pretended defection a matter of any importance.

The president and the three members of the executive council then proceeded to Imperani, where General Fick was encamped. By previous arrangement, on the morning of the 26th of March Molapo with all his counsellors and sub-chiefs arrived at the ford of the Caledon close to Imperani, where some tents had been pitched for their accommodation. There, immediately afterwards, a conference took place, which ended in a treaty between the Free State and Molapo.

Molapo agreed to the annexation to the Free State of all the land up to the Putiatsana, and promised to remove his people from that portion of it on the north and west of the Caledon. He undertook to pay two thousand head of large cattle, to abstain from assisting the other Basuto, and to give one of his sons and one of his sub-chiefs as hostages for his good conduct. He agreed to become a vassal of the Free State, retaining the district between the Caledon, the Putiatsana, and the Drakensberg, as a reserve in which to live; and he promised to obey any orders issued by the

president through a Free State officer who should be stationed with him.

A formal treaty to this effect was drawn up and signed by the president and by Molapo, his son Jonathan, and his counsellors; and was witnessed by the members of the executive council and the four officers of highest rank in the Free State camp. It is known as the treaty of Imparani. As soon as it was concluded Molapo paid the greater number of the cattle, and gave the stipulated hostages for his good conduct.

On the 29th of March a patrol of sixteen burghers and one hundred and fifty Batlokua, under command of Mr. Hendrik Oostewald Dreyer, having captured a large number of cattle in Witsi's Hoek, was returning with the spoil, when it was attacked about thirty-two kilometres or twenty miles from Harrismith. Mr. Dreyer and another burgher were killed, and some of the stock was retaken. Mr. Dreyer, who held the office of chairman of the volksraad, was a man of considerable attainments. A South African by birth, he had travelled in foreign lands, and spent some years in Australia. His body was found pierced with twenty-one assagai stabs.

About the same time an express carrying letters from the Cape Colony to Bloemfontein fell into the hands of a party of Basuto. It consisted of three burghers, two half-breeds, and two Barolong, all of whom were murdered in cold blood. Their bodies, shockingly mutilated, were found a few days afterwards.

On the last day of March a meeting of the sub-chiefs of Basutoland, convened by Moshesh, took place at Thaba Bosigo. The defection of Molapo, whether genuine or feigned, weakened the Basuto power seriously for the time being. The crops, which were now ready for harvesting, were being destroyed by the burghers. All of the sub-chiefs were therefore of opinion that if peace could be made in such a way that they could preserve their strength unimpaired until the crops were gathered and then be able to

resume hostilities at pleasure, it would be advisable for Moshesh to conclude it. The great chief thereupon wrote to the president making overtures for peace, and offering as a basis of negotiations to agree to the boundary line proclaimed by Messrs. Fick and Wepener and ratified by the volksraad. The president consented to negotiate on this basis, in the vain hope that he would be able to plant without any delay such a strong body of Europeans upon the land thus acquired that the predominance of the Free State would be in future undisputed and peace for ever be secured.

On the 3rd of April a conference took place between Thaba Bosigo and the camp of Commandant Louis Wessels. Moshesh himself was ill and unable to descend the mountain, but he gave full power to his brother Moperi and his son Nehemiah to act for him. The terms agreed to were, that the future boundary between the Free State and the Lesuto should be a line running direct from Bamboesplaats near Pampoenspruit to a point—Thaba Tele—three miles (4·8 kilometres) east of Letsie's new town—Matsieng,—thence a straight line due north—by compass—to the Caledon, thence the Caledon to the junction of the Putiatsana, and thence the Putiatsana to its source; that Moshesh should cause all his subjects immediately to withdraw from the territory beyond the new boundary, failing which the Free State should be at liberty to expel them by force; that Molapo and his people should be Free State subjects; that Moshesh should pay three thousand head of large cattle to the Free State; that Moshesh should in future deliver up refugee criminals on warrants from Free State officials; and that Moroko should be included in the treaty as an ally of the Free State.

The above conditions, and a few others of minor importance, having been embodied in a formal treaty, the document was signed in duplicate by the president and Moshesh's delegates. It was then sent up the mountain, where it received the mark and seal of Moshesh, the signatures of

Masupha, Sophonia, and several other sons of the chief, and the mark of Poshuli. Subsequently it was sent to Letsie, and received his mark. It was also signed by the unofficial members of the executive council of the Free State, by the principal officers in the Free State camp, and by Moroko's adopted son Tsepinare.

The burghers in the camp manifested the greatest joy when peace was concluded and they could return to their families, no one foreseeing that within twelve months it would prove to be the greatest mistake that could be made by the Free State. The night following was one of festivity in the camp. At nine o'clock in the morning of the 4th the president mounted a waggon round which the whole commando was assembled. Baring his head, he requested the burghers to join in thanks to God, then he read the treaty, after which the whole assembly sang the hundredth psalm. And never in grand cathedral has the *Te Deum* been chanted with greater sincerity than that psalm of praise to God was sung under the open vault of heaven when the burghers assembled in the camp believed that peace was secured by the treaty of Thaba Bosigo.

The whole adult male population of the state having been engaged in the war, agriculture had almost ceased to be carried on, even in the districts farthest from the Basuto border. Horned cattle and sheep had also diminished in number, for those taken from the enemy were far from compensating for those swept off by the invading bands. In such war as that the burghers had been engaged in there is always great waste of live stock, many sheep perish from being driven too rapidly from one locality to another, oxen and cows are killed for food when perhaps only a small portion of the flesh is consumed, and horses are overridden and die of hunger. On the farms the absence of the men caused cattlebreeding to be thrown back, though the women managed to keep things going fairly well. In the districts where the houses and all their contents had been burnt, where absolutely nothing but the ground had been left,

there was of course extreme poverty ; but those farther away who escaped such calamity were ready to assist the sufferers. There were no cases of actual death from destitution and hunger, though no doubt the misery they were obliged to endure added to mental suffering hastened the end of many.

But the dark time was believed to be over now, and hope for the future took the place of despondency in the present. South Africa is the most wonderfully elastic country in the world. After a long drought a good fall of rain causes every one to be cheerful, and after a war in which many lives have been lost and much property has been destroyed, a prospect of lasting peace sets every one at work to repair the damage and try to make things better than before. There was unfeigned grief for those who had fallen, among whom were some of the very best men in the state, whose loss would not soon be replaced ; but there was no needless wailing over the destruction of property, which industry and care would recover. Those men and women little dreamed then that the darkest time was still to come, that the great barbarian power which had overshadowed them so long had not in very deed been overthrown, but was only gathering fresh strength for a renewal of the contest, and that a few short months would see them involved again in a life or death struggle, which would tax their energies to the very utmost.

CHAPTER LXXV.

EVENTS IN THE ORANGE FREE STATE FROM APRIL 1866 TO MARCH 1868.

A FEW weeks after the treaty of Thaba Bosigo was signed, the volksraad met and decided what measures to adopt to prevent the peace being broken again. First it was necessary to strengthen the European population. A portion of the territory taken from Moshesh would be required as locations for such Basuto as could with safety be permitted to remain there as subjects of the Free State, but it was determined to dispose of the larger part as farms to be held under condition of personal occupation. The same course, in short, was to be followed as had been introduced by Sir George Cathcart with marked success in the colonial districts of Queenstown and Victoria East, and had been adopted by Sir George Grey when settling British Kaffraria.

Next came provision for the control of the Basuto who had become subjects of the Free State. On the 23rd of May 1866 an ordinance was promulgated for the management of Molapo's clan, the principal clauses of which were to the following effect: The district occupied by the clan, bounded by the Caledon, the Putiatsana, and the Drakensberg, was constituted a reserve, in which no white man could settle without special permission from the president and the executive council, and this permission could only be given to persons whose occupations were defined. No licenses for the sale of spirituous liquors within the reserve could be granted. A European officer with the title of commandant, but with the power of a landdrost, was to be

stationed in the reserve, and was to have jurisdiction there. Criminal cases involving the penalty of death were to be submitted to the attorney-general of the state for instructions. Molapo and his counsellors were to retain jurisdiction in civil cases, but the parties interested were to have a right of appeal to the commandant. A hut tax of ten shillings a year was to be paid by all except the principal captains. The Dutch Reformed church was to have the right of stationing a missionary with the people. The president with the advice of the executive council was empowered to make regulations for the guidance of the commandant.

Owing to the war, the treasury of the republic was in such a condition that extraordinary means were necessary to replenish it. A large proportion of the burghers were quite unable to pay the taxes, and there were outstanding debts for ammunition to be met in addition to the ordinary expenditure. In February the volksraad authorised the president to contract a loan of £30,000 for three years at eight per cent interest per annum, but no one could be found willing to advance the money, as the prospects of the country seemed to strangers very dark indeed.

On the 11th of June 1866 the volksraad, as the only resource, resolved to issue notes to the amount of £100,000, and to declare them a legal tender. Of this sum, £57,000 was to be lent to burghers on mortgage of landed property, at a yearly interest of six per cent. Each district was to have an equal share of the loan, and no individual could borrow more than £500. No portion of this sum was to be redeemed for five years, but after that term it was to be paid off at the rate of £10,000 annually. The mortgages were to be made out in accordance with this provision. By this means it was hoped that many persons would be able to commence farming operations again, that the treasury would be enriched by more than £3,000 a year, and that the want of a circulating medium would be to some extent supplied.

The remainder of the issue, or £43,000, was intended to meet the existing liabilities of the country. The public lands were pledged as security that the notes would be paid, and the interest received from the other portion of the issue, as it came in, was to be devoted to the reduction of the debt.

The notes thus put in circulation served the purposes for which they were intended, though the members of the volksraad and everyone else admitted that such a measure was only justifiable under the adverse circumstances in which the country was then placed. Though a legal tender, they never were equal in value to metal coin, and the rate of exchange against them was subject to great fluctuations. As they were valueless in the British colonies, a large portion of the trade of the country was thereafter carried on by means of barter.

The high commissioner, on learning the conditions of the treaties of Imparani and Thaba Bosigo, lost no time in writing to the president expressing his disapproval of them. In his view, the country left to the Basuto was too small. If it had been impossible to prevent them pressing on the farmers before, how would it be now that they were rolled back within the new boundaries? His Excellency did not consider that one of the main objects which the Free State had in view was to compel a considerable number of the Basuto to disperse to other locations which would be provided for them, and so to weaken the power of Moshesh. Further, Sir Philip Wodehouse did not approve of the separation of Molapo's clan from the rest of the tribe. As this chief was now a Free State subject, his Excellency held that the Free State was responsible for his share of the cattle still due to Natal, and requested the president to require him to furnish seven hundred head. The correspondence on this subject, however, had no other result than to deepen the impression of the Free State people that all Sir Philip Wodehouse's sympathy was against them and with the Basuto.

The treaties were hardly signed when Moshesh and Letsie renewed their efforts to obtain British protection, in the supposition that if Great Britain could be induced to take them over, the boundaries defined by Sir George Grey and Sir Philip Wodehouse would be restored. To this effect Letsie wrote to the high commissioner on the 11th of May, and when this did not succeed, a deputation consisting of Moperi, Tsekelo, and some others of less note, was sent by Moshesh to the lieutenant-governor of Natal, with the same object. This mission led to a good deal of correspondence between the imperial and colonial governments and the chiefs, but had no result. On the 9th of March Mr. Cardwell, then secretary of state for the colonies, had written to Sir Philip Wodehouse that "the extension of British rule in South Africa was a matter too serious in its bearings to be entertained by Her Majesty's government without some overruling necessity," and that he was "not prepared to authorise compliance with the request of the Basuto chiefs that their country might be taken under the immediate authority of the Queen." And on the 25th of July, Lord Carnarvon, who succeeded Mr. Cardwell, withdrew even the authority granted by his predecessor for the appointment of a resident diplomatic agent with the Basuto chief, and stated his view that "connection with the tribe should be limited to a friendly mediation, such as could lead to no closer or entangling relationship."

Letsie, Moperi, and Molitsane then turned to the Free State government and expressed a strong desire to become its subjects. Long afterwards Letsie stated that his sole object in doing so was to gain time, and that he never had any intention of submitting in earnest to the republic. The language he used, however, was similar to that employed when addressing the high commissioner with the same object. The reply he received was that he must first prove himself worthy of becoming a subject, and then his request would be taken into consideration; but that before anything could be done in that direction the cattle due to Natal must

be paid, to prevent the high commissioner holding the Free State responsible. In the meantime he had permission to remain where he was until his crops should be reaped. In December Letsie for the second time sent his son Lerothodi to Bloemfontein to urge that he might be taken over, but to no purpose.

Molitsane had permission to remain on the northern side of the Caledon until a suitable location could be found for him. He was informed that if the future owners of the farms chose to allow small parties of his people to continue their residence where they were, the government would not object as long as they behaved themselves. They therefore gathered their crops, and when the season for sowing came round again, put more ground under cultivation than they had ever done before. This leniency on the part of the Free State, after so much experience of the folly of treating people like the Bataung with a gentleness which they could not understand, was afterwards condemned as a mistake by even the strongest partisans of the Basuto. It was an indirect encouragement, they said, to Moshesh's tribe to believe that the ground was still theirs.

Moperi was treated in the same manner. This chief was recognised by everyone as the least untrustworthy of all the heads of clans in the Lesuto. His language was so guarded and his behaviour in presence of Europeans was marked by such propriety that he had the reputation of being the most sensible and civilised man in his tribe. Though a brother of Moshesh, his position was not a fortunate one. His nephews regarded him with great jealousy. Hemmed in by Molapo, Masupha, and Molitsane, the tract of land occupied by his clan was very small and was constantly being encroached upon. Knowing his circumstances, the Free State would have accepted him as a subject at once, if it had not been for the high commissioner's view of responsibility for the cattle due to Natal.

The event which attracted most attention at this time both in South Africa and in Europe was not, however, the

condition or the prospects of either of the late belligerents, but the treatment to which the French missionaries had been subjected. In England a great outcry was raised against the Free State. The directors in Paris not only wrote, but sent a deputation to the authorities of the colonial department in London, on the subject. Pens were busy all over the United Kingdom describing the expulsion of the missionaries as the greatest outrage of modern times. By all the writers the act was termed a suppression of mission work and a destruction of mission stations. There seemed to be but one view of the matter: that the request of the Paris directors ought to be complied with, the missionaries be permitted to return to their stations, their personal losses be made good to them, and their converts and all who were desirous of Christian instruction be allowed to gather round them and profit by their teaching once more.

A slight examination of the matter will show how imprudent it would have been for the Free State to have followed such a course. It would have been equivalent to giving up all the fruits of victory, for it would have restored the Basuto tribe to the position it held before the war. Every Mosuto in the territory would have professed a desire for Christian instruction, and there would have been no land on which a European population could have been located in safety. At first sight it seems a pitiless proceeding to remove the conquered people of a district, but in reality it entails very little hardship upon a Bantu clan. They shift about from place to place with the greatest ease, the trifling labour of building new huts being almost the only inconvenience to which a change of residence subjects them. It was a matter of necessity to the very existence of the Free State that the people of the mission stations in the annexed territory should be located somewhere else. The stations were broken up, not out of antipathy to the propagation of Christianity, but because the enemies of the Free State could not safely be allowed to assemble there.

The members of the volksraad deliberated on this matter in utter unconcern of the feelings roused against them beyond the shores of South Africa. They appointed a commission to take evidence upon the conduct of the missionaries. When this commission reported that no charges of having taken part in hostilities could be proved against the expelled clergymen, they decided that no compensation should be made for their personal losses, on the ground of the enmity displayed in such of their letters as had been made public. The Paris Evangelical Society was recognised as owner of the buildings on the stations, and in order to give these buildings value, a tract of land fifteen hundred morgen in extent, surrounding each of the stations, was assigned to the society, which it might use as a farm or dispose of at its option, the only charge made therefor being a sum of £100 on each grant.

The Wesleyan society was treated in the same manner. When Moshesh, during the Sovereignty period, overran the reserves allotted to Sikonyela and other captains, and annexed the ground to the Lesuto, the Wesleyans withdrew from the stations Imparani, Merumetsu, Umpukani, and Lishuane, retaining between the Orange and the Vaal only Platberg and Thaba Ntshu. The ground on which all these stations were situated, except Thaba Ntshu, had now become part of the Free State. The society requested the volksraad to recognise its right to the land it had once occupied, and was informed in reply that it would receive a title to fifteen hundred morgen around Platberg, and the same extent of ground at any or all of the other places named upon which mission buildings were still standing.

After 1866 the labours of the Wesleyans in this part of South Africa were confined to Thaba Ntshu. Nor were they left alone even in that field, for in May 1865 a missionary of the church of England had gone to reside there, on the invitation of Samuel Moroko, a son of the old chief. Samuel had spent some time at one of the church schools in England, and upon his return commenced efforts to

supplant Tsepinare, the recognised heir to the rulership of the clan. He succeeded in obtaining a number of adherents, and thenceforth the Barolong clan of Moroko was divided into two factions, quarrelling about a form of Christianity and a choice of a future ruler. With these internal dissensions the Free State government did not interfere, as the friendly chief Moroko was regarded and treated as independent. A treaty of alliance with him had been concluded by the president in March 1865, and was confirmed by the volksraad on the 21st of February 1866.

The board of directors of the Paris society rejected the grants of land offered by the volksraad, assigning as reasons that its missionaries were not farmers, and that to dispose of the ground by sale would destroy their influence with the people they were desirous of teaching. That was saying in other words that the Basuto hoped still to recover the ground, and that the missionaries could not be parties to any transaction in which the right of the Free State to it was recognised. These sentiments may be considered natural, even praiseworthy, by mission societies; but where is the nation in Europe that would award compensation for any losses whatever suffered in war by persons making such admissions? Where is the belligerent that would hesitate a single instant in expelling from its territories, or even treating in a much harsher manner, men who make such avowals? Let anyone read the published letters of some of these missionaries, and note how persistently Free State authority was ignored and the ceded territory spoken of as part of the Lesuto. Let such a one then inquire what would have happened to an Italian monk writing similar letters in Alsace just at the close of the Franco-German war, repudiating and denouncing the German authorities, or to a Greek priest in Calcutta at the time of the Indian mutiny, repudiating and abusing the British crown. The cases are identical in principle.

The expulsion of the French missionaries was not inconsistent with the admission by the burghers of the Free

State, as indeed by everyone in South Africa who is acquainted with them and their work, that the unfortunate clergymen were earnest, true, and faithful ministers of the Gospel, that they led irreproachable lives, that their zeal and devotion to duty were unbounded, that they exercised the greatest possible hospitality and kindness to strangers, that in education and refinement they were not excelled by the agents of any other society working in South Africa, and that their teaching had been blessed with a large amount of success. But most of them took the adverse side in national questions, and that so undisguisedly as to render themselves liable to the treatment they received, even had it not been a matter of urgent necessity to prevent Basuto communities from establishing themselves again on the sites of the former mission stations.

Three rows of farms adjoining the new boundary were offered by the volksraad to occupiers under military tenure. From the list of applicants who sent in their names the most suitable were selected, but several delays occurred, and this ground was not actually given out until the 15th of January 1867. Before this time a large part of the remaining land had been sold by public auction, and it was intended that the purchasers should take possession of it on the same date. Nine months had now elapsed since the cessation of hostilities, however, and during that period a great many Basuto squatters had gone in and made gardens. Due notice of the allotment of the farms was given to Moshesh, who was requested to withdraw his subjects in accordance with the second clause of the treaty of Thaba Bosigo, but instead of doing this he sent strong parties of warriors into the district.

The bishop of the English church in the Free State purchased one of the farms with a view of establishing a mission, and then went to see Moshesh, who told him candidly that he would not allow it. A widow who had received a grant of ground went to the great chief to ask if it would be safe to occupy it, when he told her it would not

be. But there is no need of evidence as to what Moshesh's intentions were, or as to who was to blame for what followed, since on the 18th of March 1867 the old chief wrote distinctly to the high commissioner that he did not mean to give up the territory. Great quantities of grain were stored on Thaba Bosigo, the Kieme, Tandjesberg, and Makwai's mountain, all of which were strongly fortified and garrisoned. It was evident to the Europeans that as soon as they were settled a raid would be made upon them, so they hastily retired.

The president then called out an armed burgher force to expel the Basuto from the ceded territory, but gave notice to Moshesh that he need be under no apprehension of an attack, for there was no intention of sending the commandos beyond the boundary. The burgher forces were formed into two divisions, under Chief-Commandants J. I. J. Fick and J. G. Pansegrouw, the first of whom was to conduct operations north of the Caledon, and the last between the Caledon and the Orange. On the twelfth of March 1867 the two commandos entered the ceded territory.

The crops were at the time almost fit for gathering, and it was an object of the utmost importance with the Basuto to preserve the grain. During the previous winter some sections of the tribe had suffered greatly from hunger, though other sections were able to store large quantities of food. It is one of the anomalies of barbarian life that hospitality, which is unlimited towards equals, is not extended towards inferiors. During the winter of 1866 there were chiefs in the Lesuto with abundance of grain, while at no great distance from them common people were literally dying of want, and others were kept alive by the charity of Sir Philip Wodehouse, for whom some of the French missionaries acted as almoners. What remained of the crop of 1866 was now stored in a few mountain fastnesses, and upon the crop of 1867 the people were depending.

The commando under Fick commenced operations in the neighbourhood of Viervoet by destroying some of the

cornfields, and a little later Pansegrouw's division began to do the same. In several places parties of burghers met with resistance, but no pitched battle took place. A few sconces in mountains were taken by storm, and on one of these occasions two Bushmen who had fired poisoned arrows upon the burghers and who were made prisoners were afterwards shot by some miscreant in cold blood. Thereupon several members of the commando demanded an investigation and the punishment of the assassin, but the general feeling of exasperation against the Bushmen was so strong that the evidence obtainable merely served to prove that the officers had given no orders for the perpetration of the crime.

The details of the skirmishing, disarming of little bands of Basuto, destruction of sconces, and cutting down maize and millet, would be neither interesting nor instructive. The only event that calls for special remark has been narrated. The one object of the Basuto chiefs was to save the crops in the ceded territory. To gain that, their plan was not to take the field, but to profess the most abject submission, and to entreat to be taken over as subjects and given ground on which to live. On the 8th of May the volksraad met, and on the 10th in mistaken pity yielded. The suppliants were informed that they could make arrangements to gather the crops with the purchasers of the ground, and a few days later they were received as subjects, and the commandos were withdrawn.

Letsie was the first to be taken over. The great difficulty in his case before had been the Natal debt, and to get over this he informed the volksraad that the Natal government had consented to give him credit for seven years. When making this statement he knew that the falsehood must be detected in a few weeks, but in those few weeks he could complete the storing of his corn, and to be convicted of an untruth had no terror for him. He was not required to move. The district in which he had always lived was assigned to him as a location, and he was thus left with nothing but a nominal line between his people and the other

Basuto. The regulations provided for Molapo's clan were made applicable to him. There were special clauses in the document which he signed when he became a Free State subject, making him responsible for any share of the Natal debt which should be claimed from him. With Letsie were received a great number of petty chiefs, who professed to be his vassals, the most important of whom were Poshuli and Makwai. The last named was then residing on a strongly fortified mountain, but Letsie engaged that he should remove from it within a month.

The arrangements for the establishment of the new reserve were completed on the 22nd of May. The only guarantee of good faith which the government of the Free State demanded was that Letsie should send one of his sons and one of his counsellors to Bloemfontein, to remain there as hostages, and this he undertook to comply with, apparently most cordially. But the hostages sent were in reality men of no rank, and when the object of their chief had been attained, one night they quietly decamped from Bloemfontein.

On the 1st of June Moperi was received in the same manner. A tract of land in Witsi's Hoek was selected as a location for him, with the object of separating his clan from the other Basuto. He was informed that he must move as soon as his crops were harvested, with which intimation he expressed himself satisfied.

With regard to Molitsane, the volksraad empowered the president to purchase a block of farms in the district of Kroonstad, and to locate the Bataung there, so as to remove this restless clan into open ground where it would have less power to do mischief.

On learning that these clans had been received as subjects of the Free State, the high commissioner at once informed the president that in his opinion the republic had also accepted their liabilities. He observed further that "these large acquisitions of territory and population tended to produce such important changes in the political position of

the several powers in this part of Africa as would fully warrant a claim on the part of the British government, should necessity arise, of a right to reconsider the bearings of the convention entered into with the Orange Free State on the 23rd of February 1854." When this letter was made public many citizens of the Free State expressed the belief that they had a more relentless opponent even than old Moshesh. When territory was annexed, the high commissioner expressed an opinion that too much land was taken from the Basuto; when that was met by the adoption as subjects of the greater number of the people who had been living on the annexed ground and by the provision of locations elsewhere for them, he still showed no satisfaction. Did he then desire, they asked each other, that the Basuto power, which had given Great Britain as well as their republic so much trouble, should remain intact, and they for ever be exposed to its violence?

The great want of the Free State at this time was a strong police force, but there was no money to pay one with. In February 1865 the volksraad voted £20,000 for this purpose, but owing to the war the revenue fell off so much that the plan could not be carried into effect. In May 1867 the matter was discussed again, and if it had been possible the volksraad would then have made provision for the enrolment of a strong force, as its urgent need was recognised. The majority of the members, however, saw no means of increasing the revenue, and the project was therefore abandoned.

The crops were harvested and stored in caverns in the mountains, and then the tone of the late suppliants underwent a sudden change. Moshesh denied all knowledge of the cession of land by the treaty of Thaba Bosigo, and publicly announced that he would not allow Europeans to settle on it. The Basuto there were instructed not to move, and were informed that if they were attacked help would be sent to them. Masupha with an armed band commenced to plunder far and near. Letsie refused to receive the com-

mandant appointed to reside with him, or to remove Makwai as he had promised. All disguise was at once cast aside, and Moshesh's tribe was seen to be in perfect readiness for war.

In the middle of June an English itinerant trader named Bush was plundered of all his goods and then murdered by order of a grandson of Molitsane, close to Mekuatliling, and consequently on Free State soil. Bush was one of the renegades who assisted Moshesh during the recent war, but he had since returned to civilised habits, and the Bataung looked upon him now as a traitor to them. On this account he had been strongly advised not to place himself again in their power, but with foolhardiness he had rushed on his fate. The murderer fled to Moshesh. The president wrote on the 26th of June demanding his extradition under the sixth clause of the treaty, and received an answer, dated the 9th of July, which was to all intents a declaration of war. In the most impudent, untruthful, and irritating language, Moshesh asserted that he had ceded no territory, that the district in which Bush was murdered was still part of the Lesuto, and that white men had no right to live there without his permission. "Let the Boers know," he added, "that they must remain where they are, in the Free State; there is no other way to keep up peace." This letter, which was in the English language, bore the signature and seal of Moshesh, and purported to have been written by Nehemiah, but there are clear indications of the presence of a European when it was drafted.

Before this letter was received, on the 12th of July tidings reached Bloemfontein that a band of about two hundred Bataung under the sons of Molitsane had appeared on the farm of a young man named Jacobus Krynauw, in the ceded territory, and had murdered the owner of the place in cold blood. A farmer named Abraham van der Walt, with his wife and three children, happened to be on a visit at Krynauw's at the time. Van der Walt was very severely wounded, but he managed to kill two of his assail-

ants and disabled several others. He actually drove the whole band off, and with his family escaped to Thaba Ntshu, where Moroko did all that he could for him, and as soon as possible sent him to Bloemfontein.

It was now clear to every one that another struggle was unavoidable. On the 16th of July 1867 the president called the burghers to arms to clear the ceded territory and compel Moshesh to observe the treaty of Thaba Bosigo. Martial law was proclaimed throughout the state from the 19th, and during its continuance the civil courts were to be closed. The volksraad was summoned to meet in extraordinary session on the 8th of August.

Of all the chiefs subject to Moshesh the only one whose conduct was not openly hostile was Moperi. He had not yet moved to Witsi's Hoek. On the 9th of August the volksraad gave him twenty-four hours notice that if he did not leave with his clan before the expiration of that time, the agreement with him would be cancelled. He had been to inspect the ground, and had been agreeably surprised to find that the location offered him was larger and in every respect better than the one he was required to vacate. In Witsi's Hoek too he would be free of jealous neighbours. He therefore moved, as required, and took no part in the events that followed. A commandant was appointed to live with him, and this officer had no reason to complain of his subsequent conduct. There to the present day the clan of Moperi lives, and it is as prosperous and satisfied as any body of Bantu in South Africa.

The burghers responded to the president's call with a sense of duty equal to that displayed in 1865. Government and citizens alike resolved to spare no sacrifice to place the republic in a position of safety. From all the districts the farmers came marching under their respective commandants, and on the 5th of August two strong brigades entered the disturbed territory. The northern brigade was under Chief-Commandant G. J. Joubert, the southern under Chief-Commandant J. G. Pansegrouw. On the 15th of August the

volksraad authorised a loan of £50,000 from the Bloemfontein bank, at eight per cent per annum interest, to defray the cost of equipping the forces in the field.

The tactics adopted by the Basuto on this occasion were to avoid encountering the burghers in the open field, to pretend to hold the hills but to run away as soon as pressed, and really to defend to the best of their ability the strongly fortified mountains on which their corn was stored. The Free State forces were thus employed for the first six weeks in marching about, securing a few cattle here and there, and driving their opponents from ranges of hills only to find the same places occupied by the same people a few days later. This kind of work was wearisome and harassing, and besides it had no result. A few Basuto were shot, but the strength of the enemy could not be diminished in this way.

On the 25th of September, however, Makwai's mountain, one of the great natural fortresses of the country, was taken by Chief-Commandant Pansegrouw's division. A camp had been formed in its neighbourhood, from which during the night of the 24th three parties set out. The first of these parties consisted of sixty European volunteers and one hundred Fingos under Commandant Ward. It marched to the east end of the mountain. The second, consisting of two hundred burghers under Commandant Jooste, marched to the north side. And the third, two hundred burghers under the chief-commandant himself, marched to the south side.

Under the darkness of night Ward's party crept unmolested up the steep slope, and at daybreak found itself on an extensive tableland with enormous masses of broken rock forming the background. The garrison was taken by surprise, the first intimation of the attack which they received being a volley of bullets. Some cattle were discovered here, and the Fingos at once commenced driving them down. This gave the Basuto an opportunity to rally, and they came on in such force that the volunteers were

obliged to fall back and, after a brief stand, to retire from the mountain.

While the attention of the Basuto was directed to this quarter, Commandant Jooste's men were scaling the northern side. They reached without accident the summit of what may be termed the pedestal, but before them were great rocks fortified with numerous sconces. These they took by storm, one after another. While so engaged, they were strengthened by one hundred men from the chief-commandant's party, who had crept up in the opposite direction. Upon seeing these the Basuto lost all heart and fled, leaving the Free State forces in full possession of the mountain. Large stores of wheat and millet, besides three hundred and fifty head of horned cattle, over five thousand sheep, and sixty-eight horses fell into the hands of the conquerors. At least sixty-seven Basuto were killed. This stronghold was not taken without a considerable number of the captors being wounded, but only one life was lost on the European side.

After the loss of his stronghold Makwai gave up the contest, and with his clan moved over the Drakensberg into Nomansland. Lebenya's clan had already gone there from the Wittebergen reserve, where they had taken refuge after Vechtkop was stormed in 1865. Makwai made peace with Adam Kok, and in nominal vassalage to him settled in the district which now forms the magistracy of Matatiele. Lebenya settled on the land between the Kenigha and Tina rivers, which is now included in the magistracy of Mount Fletcher. From this date they took no further part in hostilities against the Free State, and a very few words will suffice to close acquaintanceship with them. In March 1869 Sir Philip Wodehouse visited Nomansland, and confirmed them in possession of the ground on which they were residing. In 1873 Lebenya and his people at their urgent request were admitted as British subjects, and in the following year Makwai was also taken over. In 1880 the whole of Makwai's clan and part of Lebenya's went into rebellion,

and were driven by the colonial forces from Matatiele and Mount Fletcher back into the Lesuto.

The capture of Makwai's mountain in all probability kept Molapo from joining his father against the Free State. Commandant Frans Holm, who was stationed with him, reported that he was closely watching the course of events, and if the Basuto had been successful at first, he would certainly have cast in his lot with them again. Now, however, he professed to be sitting still, and to be intent only on cultivating his gardens and taking care of his cattle.

Another effect which the capture of this stronghold had was to dishearten a large number of stragglers, people who were refugees from distant parts of the country and who were not by descent attached to any of the fighting chiefs. These people now swarmed into the Wittebergen reserve, where they were under British protection. The Free State armies had thus fewer foes to contend with.

A garrison was placed on the stronghold to prevent its being occupied again, and the commando then resumed the drudgery of patrolling the country. The Basuto on their part adhered to their former tactics. Letsie with a strong garrison was on the Kieme, a mountain second only in strength to Thaba Bosigo. Poshuli in like manner was holding Tandjesberg. Masupha and Molitsane were watching for an opportunity to fall upon any defenceless households on the border, and kept Chief-Commandant Joubert fully employed in marching from one place to another, and then back again. In anticipation that by these means the Free State forces would soon be worn out, the Basuto were placing a very large part of the ceded territory under cultivation. A commando would hardly leave a valley before swarms of men and women, issuing from the mountains, were engaged in hoeing the ground and planting maize and millet. To prevent this a force five times as great as that the Free State could put into the field would have been required. Sentinels on every hill gave notice of

the approach of the burghers, who soon found that their only chance of meeting the enemy was by quick and stealthy night marches.

In this condition of warfare it sometimes happened that women and children lost their lives, and for this the Free State forces have been severely blamed. But no one has as yet devised a plan by which hostilities with a people like the Basuto can be carried on without such casualties. Even in the sconces and fortified caves, men, women, and children were mixed together. Such places could not be attacked without peril to those who in civilised countries are regarded as non-combatants, and surely it would be absurd to say that they should have been passed by because there were women and children in them. In some instances the Basuto warriors actually shielded themselves behind women.

A man who did much to misrepresent matters in Europe, as well as to encourage the Basuto to pursue a line of conduct that tended directly to ruin, must now be introduced to the reader. His name was David Dale Buchanan. Since February 1846 he had been editor of the *Natal Witness*, and as he was an advocate of the supreme court of that colony, had once been a member of the legislative council, and even acted for a short time as attorney-general, his statements were received abroad with considerable attention. In South Africa his influence was limited to a very small and constantly changing circle, owing to his intense vanity and fractiousness. Mr. Buchanan seems to have considered that an opportunity to distinguish himself was afforded by the strife between the Free State and the Basuto. In February 1867 he announced his intention of becoming the champion of the Basuto, by writing to the colonial secretary of Natal inquiring "if the government would consider the importation of arms and ammunition and the introduction of a few experienced gunners at variance with any treaty." From that date he became the legal adviser of the Basuto chiefs, and took an active part in the negotiations between them and the authorities of Natal.

While the desultory warfare which has been described was being carried on, events were leading towards an intervention by Sir Philip Wodehouse in the most decisive manner. The various overtures which had been made by Moshesh from time to time to be taken under British protection had been productive of no result, but he still persevered in his efforts. In August 1867 Makotoko, the old chief's nephew and confidential messenger, was sent by Moshesh and Letsie to Natal to urge "that they and their people and their country might be received by and be made to belong to Her Majesty the Queen of England, and be attached to the colony of Natal; to occupy the same position with regard to the government of Natal, and to pay the same taxes as the native chiefs and tribes already living in Natal, and to be presided over by a magistrate or other officer appointed by the government of Natal to live for that purpose in Basutoland." If this should not be conceded, Makotoko was to ask that the British government should "not supply arms and ammunition to one side and withhold them from the other, but let both have an equal chance, and if the Basuto must perish, let them perish defending themselves with means to procure which they should be allowed the same facilities as their enemies from a neutral source."

Language like this is apt to mislead people at a distance, and to create sympathy in those who know nothing of the circumstances under which it is used. It would be appropriate in the mouth of a chief defending the hereditary possessions of himself and his tribe against unprovoked aggression. But it came with bad grace from Moshesh and Letsie, whose want of honesty was the cause of all the trouble, and who could have secured peace at any time by simply fulfilling their engagements.

Sir Philip Wodehouse, to whom this matter was referred, had for a long time advocated the adoption of the Basuto as British subjects, and he now—17th of September 1867—wrote again to the imperial government to that effect, but recommending that they should be placed under the control

of the governor of the Cape Colony as high commissioner rather than under that of the Natal government. The duke of Buckingham and Chandos had recently succeeded Lord Carnarvon as secretary of state for the colonies. On the 9th of December he replied to Sir Philip Wodehouse in the following terms :

“Her Majesty’s government have had under their careful consideration the repeated offers made by the chief Moshesh that he and his people, with their territory, should be received under the authority of the Queen. . . . Her Majesty’s government consider that the residence of a British agent with Moshesh would not accomplish a permanent settlement of the difficulties which have to be met, while it might embarrass our relations with independent native tribes and the Free State ; and they have therefore come to the conclusion that the peace and welfare of Her Majesty’s possessions in South Africa would be best promoted by accepting the overtures made by that chief.

“If Her Majesty’s government had merely entertained the question of a closer alliance with the Basuto by the appointment of a British agent, or by some other means not involving sovereign rights, it would have been right that the tribe should continue to be under the control of the governor of the Cape Colony in his capacity of high commissioner ; but as their recognition as British subjects, and the incorporation of their territory, are now the matters under consideration, Her Majesty’s government have to decide in what manner these important measures can be best carried into effect, and they feel no doubt that the best and most obvious arrangement would be the annexation of Basutoland to the colony of Natal. . . .

“Assuming therefore that the legislature of Natal, as Her Majesty’s government have reason to anticipate, will readily acquiesce in such a measure, they authorise you, whenever a fitting opportunity may occur, to treat with the chief Moshesh for the recognition of himself and of his tribe as British subjects, and for the incorporation of their territory with Natal on the general conditions stated.

“It is not improbable that the Orange Free State would be glad to see a new order of things established which would give them freedom from the depredations of the Basuto ; and while leaving to your discretion the time and manner of accomplishing this measure, and the terms in which you will communicate with the Free State on the subject, Her Majesty’s government would only impress upon you the importance of including a settlement of the boundaries between the Free State and Basutoland as an integral part of the arrangement.”

As soon as the above despatch reached South Africa, the high commissioner communicated with President Brand and

Moshesh—13th of January 1868—informing them of the power placed in his hands, and announcing that he intended to make use of it. To each he recommended a suspension of hostilities, and stated that he would visit the Lesuto about the end of March or beginning of April to make the necessary arrangements.

The reply of Moshesh was full of thanks and protestations of loyalty. The president, in his answer—dated 31st of January 1868—after recapitulating the events that led to the war, informed the high commissioner that he thought “it would be unsafe to suspend hostilities against the Basuto at the moment that the object of the war was nearly accomplished, and when the arms of the republic were, under God’s blessing, everywhere successful, trusting merely to the good faith and the inclination and power of Moshesh to make his people comply with the treaty of Thaba Bosigo.” He had therefore written to Moshesh that the war would be prosecuted with vigour until the murderers of Bush and Krynauw were delivered to the Free State and the annexed territory cleared of the Basuto. As the second article of the convention of the 23rd of February 1854 stated that her Majesty’s government had no wish or intention to enter thereafter into any treaties to the north of the Orange river which might be injurious or prejudicial to the interests of the Free State, the communication that Moshesh and his tribe were in all probability about to become subjects of the British crown had taken him quite by surprise. He regretted that he could not coincide in his Excellency’s opinion that the course proposed would tend to the future general peace of South Africa. And as the interest and welfare of the Free State would be so seriously affected by it, he had convened the volksraad to meet in extraordinary session on the 21st of March.

The president’s statement of the recent successes of the Free State arms was correct. The northern commando had succeeded in depriving the enemy of a large quantity of grain and a considerable number of cattle, it had burnt

several kraals and destroyed extensive fortifications at Platberg, the Berea, Koranaberg, and other places. The southern commando had met with like success in the districts along the Orange river and about the Koesberg. And, more than all this, on the 28th of January, only three days before the letter was written, Tandjesberg had been taken by storm by Chief-Commandant Pansegrouw.

This stronghold was attacked in the same way as Makwai's mountain. Commandant Van der Merwe with the Fauresmith burghers was sent to make a feint at the north-eastern point while Commandant Jooste with a strong detachment crept up the south-western extremity. An hour before daybreak Van der Merwe, under a heavy fire of cannon, pretended to storm the mountain, his burghers keeping up a continual discharge of rifles, but not exposing themselves unnecessarily. The ruse succeeded. Poshuli's men were drawn towards the threatened point, and Jooste seized the opportunity to climb up to the top of the great mound. The rocks there were full of sconces, the first of which was in possession of the burghers before the enemy was aware of what was taking place.

Even then the position of Poshuli's men would have been impregnable if they had not lost heart. In some places the burghers had to scale steep rocks to attack the sconces, but in their enthusiasm they surmounted every obstacle, and early in the morning they were in full possession of the stronghold, from which the Basuto fled in a panic. Though only six burghers were wounded, the conquerors counted one hundred and twenty-six dead bodies of their enemies. How many more Basuto were killed and how many were wounded cannot be stated with accuracy, but the number of the latter was very considerable. The movable spoil consisted of one hundred and six horses, one hundred and forty head of horned cattle, one thousand and seventy sheep, and a very large quantity of grain.

Among those who fell at Tandjesberg was Moshesh's brother Poshuli, the most renowned robber captain in South

Africa. He was wounded in the leg, and was endeavouring to get away with the assistance of one of his sons and two or three of his counsellors, when he found himself exposed to a fire of musketry from the front. To lighten himself he unbuckled his ammunition pouch and gave it with his rifle to his son. The party then tried to escape into the gorge leading down the mountain, but they had only proceeded a few paces when a ball entered between Poshuli's shoulders and passed through his chest, killing him instantly. His son and counsellors managed to conceal the body in a cave until nightfall, when they carried it away for burial. In the engagement one of the inferior half brothers of Moshesh also fell, and two of Poshuli's sons of minor rank were wounded.

The loss of Tandjesberg was considered by the Basuto the severest blow they had received since the formation of the tribe by Moshesh. From its fall the cry of the old chief to the high commissioner was earnest and unceasing, to come quickly or it would be too late. The burghers were in a corresponding degree inspirited. The young corn was now so far grown that it could be easily destroyed, and they were doing their utmost to cut it down. Their hope was strong that with a little further exertion Moshesh's power would be broken, and the tribe which had so long menaced their very existence be scattered in fragments too weak to be dangerous.

Sir Philip Wodehouse, on finding that President Brand's government did not cease hostilities, issued directions that no ammunition should be permitted to be removed from any of the colonial ports to the Free State without his authority. But while acting in this decided manner, his language to the president was more friendly and conciliatory than it had ever been before. He pointed out that "if a fair understanding could be arrived at, the British authorities would be bound to maintain a due control over their own subjects, and the people of the Free State would thus be left to enjoy in peace, and without any extraordinary effort on their part,

the lands they had hitherto held on such unprofitable terms." He was seeking, he said, the welfare of the Free State quite as much as that of the Basuto. He could not forget that its people were all but a few years before, as many of them still were, British subjects; that they were the near kinsmen of the people of the Cape Colony; and that any misfortunes that befell them must to a great extent be shared by the colonists. He therefore still allowed himself to hope that he might gain the assent of the Free State government to his proposals, and that by consenting to suspend hostilities with a view to negotiation, that government would prevent further unnecessary sacrifice of human life.

On the 22nd of February another great success was achieved by Chief-Commandant Pansegrouw's brigade. Before daylight that morning the same tactics that had been successful at Makwai's mountain and Tandjesberg were employed against the Kieme, the stronghold of Letsie. Pansegrouw himself with one hundred burghers made the feint on this occasion. Letsie was at the time on a visit to Thaba Bosigo, and Lerothodi, his eldest son, was in command of the garrison. The Basuto collected to resist the supposed attack, when Commandant Jooste with four hundred and eighty burghers and eighty European volunteers scaled the mountain in another direction. Most of the sconces were taken, but several of the strongest were left unattacked, as they were so situated that to storm them would cost a great loss of life, without any advantage. The Basuto in them were practically shut up, and in course of time would be obliged to surrender. One burgher was wounded, and some thirty Basuto were killed. The spoil taken consisted of seven hundred and twenty horses, seven thousand six hundred and thirty-six head of horned cattle, fourteen thousand four hundred sheep, one cannon, and a quantity of grain.

For some time now the Basuto had only been kept together by the encouragement given by Sir Philip Wodehouse, who was anxious to prevent them from crowding into

the colony in a state of destitution. When intelligence of the capture of the Kieme reached Capetown, the high commissioner recognised that if the tribe was to be preserved intact no time must be lost in placing it under British protection. Accordingly Sir Walter Currie, commandant of the frontier armed and mounted police, was directed to mass as many of his men as possible on the border, and as soon as that could be done a proclamation was issued by Sir Philip Wodehouse:

"Whereas, with a view to the restoration of peace and the future maintenance of tranquillity and good government on the north-eastern border of the colony of the Cape of Good Hope, Her Majesty the Queen has been graciously pleased to comply with the request made by Moshesh, the paramount chief, and other headmen of the tribe of the Basuto, that the said tribe may be admitted into the allegiance of Her Majesty; and whereas Her Majesty has been further pleased to authorise me to take the necessary steps for giving effect to her pleasure in the matter:

"Now, therefore, I do hereby proclaim and declare that from and after the publication hereof the said tribe of the Basuto shall be, and shall be taken to be, for all intents and purposes, British subjects; and the territory of the said tribe shall be, and shall be taken to be, British territory. And I hereby require all Her Majesty's subjects in South Africa to take notice of this my proclamation accordingly."

CHAPTER LXXVI.

EVENTS CONNECTED WITH THE LESUTO FROM MARCH 1868 TO
APRIL 1870.

THE proclamation by which the Basuto became British subjects and their country British territory was dated on the 12th of March 1868, and was published on the following day. It indicated a great change in public opinion in England, and a complete reversal of the previous policy of the imperial government regarding South Africa. The abandonment of the Orange River Sovereignty in 1854 had been viewed with alarm by all those colonists who were attached to the British empire, and of late years a feeling almost of dismay had been created by the similar abandonment of the vacant Transkeian territory through fear of expense and danger of conflict with Bantu tribes. One of the fairest opportunities ever offered for legitimate settlement of white people in the country was thrown away, with the result that the Cape Colony has already had to bear the expense of two wars, and is left weaker than it might have been for all time to come. A policy that could lead to such disastrous consequences, which it needed little penetration on the part of colonists to foresee, was therefore most unpopular in this country, and there would have been general rejoicing if it had been reversed in some way not savouring of partiality towards black people. But in this matter of accepting the Basuto as British subjects, most men believed that the policy of the imperial government had been reversed only to prevent a perfidious tribe from being punished as it deserved to be.

On the other hand a small section of the community, confined almost exclusively to men engaged in commerce, maintained that the act of Sir Philip Wodehouse was necessary in the general interests of the country and was by no means an unfriendly one towards the Free State. It was pointed out that Thaba Bosigo was not yet taken, and it was argued that the Basuto tribe, even if conquered, could not be kept in control by its exhausted opponent. Statistics were brought forward to show how exhausted that opponent must be. The ordinary revenue of the Free State was only £56,000 per annum, its ordinary expenditure was £55,000, and its public debt was £50,000 to the Bloemfontein bank, £39,000 still in circulation in notes out of the issue of £43,000, and outstanding accounts amounting to £16,000: in all £105,000. The people were so impoverished by the war that further taxation was impossible. There were no means of raising a loan, for there was nothing to pledge as security for payment. The whole of the public buildings in the country were worth only £10,000. There were government notes to the amount of £126,000 in circulation—£30,000 lent to the Bloemfontein bank, £57,000 lent to farmers, the balance part of the debt—and £5 in notes had only the purchasing power of £3 in gold. The imports during the war were at the rate of £300,000 yearly, and the exports only at the rate of £265,000, thus leaving a balance of trade against the state of £35,000 per annum. No less a sum than £650,000 was due by traders and farmers of the state to the Standard bank, merchants of Port Elizabeth, and others in the Cape Colony, while the courts were closed for the hearing of civil cases on account of the war.

To all these figures the reply of the other party was that the Free State did not admit that it was exhausted, it was prepared to continue to the end a struggle which it had nearly brought to a successful conclusion, and would take good care to make such terms as would prevent the Basuto from again breaking the peace. This controversy was main-

tained for some months, and only gradually lost the bitterness with which it was at first carried on.

The proclamation laid down no limits for the Lesuto, nor did it define clearly what people were annexed. The followers of Moperi, living in Witsi's Hoek, were unquestionably Basuto. So were the clans under Molapo, living between the Putiatsana and the Caledon, and the adherents of Jan Letele, living in the district of Smithfield. All these were Free State subjects, but they might, or might not, be included in the proclamation, just as one should interpret it.

On the 14th of March a commission was issued to Sir Walter Currie, commandant of the frontier armed and mounted police, appointing him agent for the high commissioner in Basutoland. He was instructed to lose no time in proceeding to the assistance of the Basuto with the whole available police force, which had been assembled for that purpose in the Wittebergen reserve. At the same time the high commissioner wrote to Moshesh and to President Brand, informing them of the proclamation. To the president he added that he entertained the strongest desire of communicating unreservedly, with a view to the satisfactory settlement of affairs.

On the 23rd of March Sir Walter Currie with the police crossed the Orange and entered the Lesuto. He was desirous of proceeding at once to Thaba Bosigo, but was unable to get guides or assistance of any kind, as the people of that part of the country were ignorant of the negotiations between the high commissioner and Moshesh, and were suspicious of the police. Sir Walter therefore called upon Mr. Austen, superintendent of the reserve, for assistance. That officer at once repaired to the camp, and sent out messengers in all directions with intelligence that the police had come to assist the Basuto. He also engaged a son of Morosi and ten men from the reserve to accompany the commandant to Thaba Bosigo.

On the 26th Sir Walter arrived at Moshesh's headquarters, and was received with every demonstration of joy

by the old chief and the people about him. Upon the proclamation being read they all rose up and gave three cheers for the Queen, Moshesh himself being greatly excited. A notification was immediately sent by the high commissioner's agent to the various commandants of the Free State forces in the field, informing them that he had directed the chiefs to cease all aggressive movements, and that it would be his duty to assist and support the Basuto if hostilities should be continued against them. He then formed a camp at Korokoro, about ten miles or sixteen kilometres south of Thaba Bosigo and five kilometres east of the Kieme, where he awaited the course of events.

As soon as President Brand received notice of the proclamation he issued instructions to the officers of the Free State forces under no circumstances to cross the boundary fixed by the treaty of Thaba Bosigo. They were to remain within the ceded territory and guard it against encroachments by the Basuto, and should British troops or the colonial police appear there, they were to protest formally, but to offer no resistance.

On the 21st of March the volksraad met, when a long and earnest discussion took place upon the high commissioner's proceedings. The views entertained by the members were that the Free State had been unjustly and ungenerously dealt with. Unjustly, inasmuch as the convention of 1854 had been violated by the reception of the Basuto as British subjects and by the prohibition of the sale of ammunition to the republic by merchants in the colony. Ungenerously, inasmuch as the little state, which had been thrown upon its own resources by England owing solely to the difficulty of dealing with the Basuto, had made enormous sacrifices to punish the disturber of the peace of South Africa, and was therefore entitled to the sympathy of her Majesty's government.

One after another the members reviewed the relationship between the whites and the Basuto from the time of the proclamation of the queen's sovereignty by Sir Harry Smith

to this act of Sir Philip Wodehouse. They denounced in bitter terms the misrepresentation of events which they alleged was constantly made in England by a party that under all circumstances maintained the innocence and integrity of the blacks, while the statements of the whites were unheard or unheeded. They declared their apprehension that English rule in Basutoland would bring about a repetition of the evils under which the country suffered in the time of Major Warden, for they believed it would not be supported by any strong physical force, and while the border would be subject to continual devastation by bands of robbers, the farmers would be prevented from following up and punishing thieves by fear that the English government might consider such conduct towards British subjects as hostile towards itself.

Holding such views, on the 24th of March the volksraad directed the president to protest to the imperial government in the most positive and emphatic manner against the recent acts of the high commissioner, and to inform his Excellency that they could not appoint delegates to enter into any negotiations based upon a violation of the convention of 1854. It was resolved to send a deputation to England to confer directly with the imperial government.

Meantime the high commissioner had left Capetown to visit the Lesuto. On the 27th of March he was at Colesberg, from which place he addressed a letter to President Brand, proposing terms of settlement. These terms were that the boundary of Basutoland should be that fixed by Sir George Grey in 1858 and by himself in 1864; that along the Basuto side of the line he would cause three hundred farms of fifteen hundred morgen each to be sold, and pay the proceeds to the Free State government; or that he would grant titles on quitrent to nominees of the Free State government for the same number of farms.

This proposal, if accepted, would thus have placed a belt of Europeans under English rule between the Free State and the portion of the Lesuto reserved for the people of

Moshesh, and would have been a tolerable guarantee against such a condition of affairs on the border as the members of the volksraad dreaded. It would have taken from the Free State the whole of the land ceded to it by the treaty of Thaba Bosigo—inclusive of the district occupied by Molapo,—would have restored four-sevenths of that land to the Basuto, and would have given to the Free State in return the proceeds of the sale of three hundred farms.

The president declined the proposal. He replied that, apart from all other considerations, many grants of farms had been made in the ceded district; land had been sold, resold, and transferred in it; part of it was pledged as security for money borrowed by the state; and sites for villages had been surveyed in it, the erven of one of which—Wepener, close to Jammerberg Drift on the Caledon—had been allotted in October 1867; so that the Free State government would be laying itself open to endless claims and complications by acceding to the proposal. He desired instead that the high commissioner would restrain the Basuto within the boundary fixed by the treaty of Thaba Bosigo, until the result of the protest about to be forwarded to the imperial government should be known.

On the 30th of March the high commissioner reached Aliwal North. From this place he addressed the president, calling his attention to the fact that the courts of the Free State had been closed for the hearing of civil cases during the continuance of the war, and maintaining that this was a violation of the convention. He asserted further that the employment of British subjects under the conditions offered by the Free State was an unfriendly act, and tended to set at naught the neutrality proclamation.

The president replied, explaining that the civil courts were necessarily closed while the burghers were in the field, and citing precedents in the recent history of the Cape Colony. He claimed that the Free State had respected the neutrality proclamation, and denied that the employment of English residents who offered their services in war was unfriendly

towards the British government. He offered to guarantee that no molestation should be made across the boundary according to the treaty of Thaba Bosigo, if his Excellency would do the same from the other side.

The high commissioner answered that he would be unable to restrain the Basuto within these limits, as the country left to them by the treaty was too small for their maintenance. He then withdrew his former offer, but professed himself still willing to enter into negotiations. In a subsequent letter, written at the police camp at Korokoro on the 14th of April, he proposed that pending the negotiations with her Majesty's government a temporary boundary should be agreed upon and molestation from either side prohibited. For this purpose he proposed the line which is at present the boundary between the Orange and the Caledon, and across the last named river a line which would restore to the Basuto a triangular block of ground of no very great extent, but which contained the French mission stations of Mekuatleng and Maboletla.

This proposal contained no reference to Molapo by name, but, if accepted, it would have deprived the Free State of its claim to authority over him and his clan. In making it, the high commissioner had the line he named in view as the future boundary of Basutoland, for he had already come to the conclusion that it would be a fair division between the contending parties. The president, however, declined to agree to it.

By this time Sir Philip Wodehouse had made himself acquainted with the actual condition of affairs around him. The war had entailed great losses, and had disorganised society everywhere. The tribe seemed ready to break up into a hundred fragments. There was a great deal of sickness among the people, owing to want of food and shelter by the clans that had been most exposed. It was believed that some of them had resorted again to cannibalism, but Europeans could not then ascertain whether this was correct or not. Four months later the rumour was proved to be

true. In July Mr. J. H. Bowker was shown a cave, of which he wrote to the high commissioner that the floor and the open space in front were so covered with human bones, chiefly of young people, that he could have loaded a waggon with them in a short time; all of the skulls were broken; and though some of the bones were apparently many years old, others had been cooked quite recently.

But though some sections of the tribe were reduced to the direst distress, others had hardly suffered at all. Several of the leading chiefs had lost very little of their personal property. Their cattle were safe in the mountains, and with them there was no scarcity of food. Inside the limits of the Lesuto according to the treaty of Thaba Bosigo there were enormous crops of corn ready for gathering, while in the country of Molapo, between the Putiatsana and the Caledon, every valley was a corn-field. The Cape police were purchasing then, as they did for many months afterwards, as much millet as they needed at twelve shillings a muid.

Molapo, so far from being a contented and peaceable subject of the Free State as the president at an earlier date supposed, had already welcomed the high commissioner's agent and expressed a desire to come under British protection. He had informed Sir Walter Currie that the reason why he had taken no part in the recent hostilities was an understanding between his father and himself that his people should merely pretend to be peaceful, so as to grow abundance of food and protect the cattle of the tribe; but they had intended to join their kinsmen against the Free State whenever it could be done with a prospect of success. He had brought a present of cattle for the use of the police, had written to the president throwing off his allegiance, and had set at defiance the Free State commandant who resided with him.

Moperi had also communicated with the high commissioner's agent, and had expressed a wish to be reunited to the remainder of the tribe and be taken under British

protection. But he was unwilling to give up his location in Witsi's Hoek and return to the Lesuto.

In the territory ceded by the treaty of Thaba Bosigo, the Free State forces held most of the strong places, but had not succeeded in entirely expelling the Basuto. These, however, had no powder left, and did not venture to meet their opponents in the open field.

On the 15th of April a great meeting took place at Thaba Bosigo. With Sir Philip Wodehouse were Mr. Keate, lieutenant-governor of Natal, Mr. Shepstone, secretary for native affairs in Natal, Sir Walter Currie, commandant of the frontier police and high commissioner's agent in Basutoland, and several other officers and attendants. The reverend Mr. Daniel, who had accompanied the high commissioner from Aliwal North, acted as interpreter. The old chief Moshesh was there with his sons, counsellors, and most of the leading men of the tribe, all deeply anxious to learn what the great power whose aid they had invoked intended to do for them.

The high commissioner stated that in order to carry on the government of the country three or four British officers would be appointed, but that the customs of the people would not be interfered with more than was necessary. As soon as negotiations with the Free State were concluded the Lesuto would be annexed to Natal, according to the wish expressed by Moshesh and the instructions of the imperial government. The Basuto must not expect to have the whole of the territory within the boundaries of 1858 restored to them, but he would endeavour to recover sufficient ground for their comfortable subsistence outside of the limits assigned by the treaty of Thaba Bosigo. They must be prepared to pay annually a tax of ten shillings for each occupied hut in the country.

Their subsequent conduct proves that the high commissioner's address gave very little real satisfaction to the Basuto chiefs, nevertheless they were profuse in thanks for what he had done and intended to do for them. The hut-

tax, they promised, should be regularly paid as soon as peace should be restored. To one point only did they make objection. They did not wish the Lesuto annexed to Natal, for that was a country of which they knew very little, while with the Cape Colony they had been acquainted since the time when Sir George Napier was governor. Further than this they had little to say, except that they would consult together and Moshesh would inform the high commissioner of the result.

Within a few days letters were written in the name of the chief, asking that the Lesuto might be declared a reserve, that is that it should be kept for the use of black people only, and Europeans be prevented from holding land in it; that it might remain distinct from both the Cape Colony and Natal, and be dependent upon the high commissioner alone; but that if it must be joined to one of these colonies the Basuto would prefer the Cape, as they knew its customs from having had trading transactions with it for many years. The high commissioner was also requested to receive Moperi as a British subject, and claim was laid to Witsi's Hoek, where Moperi lived, as being part of the Lesuto. Nehemiah at the same time wrote asking leave to return to Matatiele and that a British agent might be appointed to reside there with him.

What the Basuto chiefs really wanted was to be protected from their enemies, to exist with their people as a separate and compact tribe, to have space for great expansion, and to surrender no more authority than was unavoidable.

The claim of Moshesh to Witsi's Hoek as a portion of the Lesuto rested on a similar foundation to his claim to so much ground elsewhere, that it had been occupied for several years by the Bakolokwe, who had since become his subjects; but Sir Philip Wodehouse took no notice of it. In the early years of the century that tract of land was in possession of the Batlokua. Sikonyela, Moshesh's bitterest enemy, would have inherited it if he had not been driven away by invaders from the coast region. Under the

Sovereignty, Major Warden gave out farms in it without Sikonyela or his people making any objection. At that time the greater part of it was occupied by the Bakolokwe under Witsi, from whom it was afterwards taken by Free State forces under Mr. J. M. Orpen, landdrost of Winburg. Thus Moshesh's conquest of Sikonyela gave him no right to Witsi's Hoek.

Sir Philip Wodehouse remained in the Lesuto until the 28th of April, but could do nothing towards the pacification of the country. In the ceded territory skirmishing continued as before the issue of the proclamation, though military operations on a large scale were no longer conducted. Trading operations, however, were renewed to some extent.

As soon as the high commissioner left, a spirit of dissatisfaction manifested itself, resting on the disappointment of the chiefs that the boundaries of 1858 had not been restored and that peace had not been the immediate result of their adoption as British subjects. The lieutenant-governor and secretary for native affairs of Natal were accompanied by a number of Bantu attendants from that colony, and these managed to instil into the minds of the Basuto that if their country was annexed to Natal a force of ten thousand warriors would at once be sent to aid them in driving back the Free State people. Hereupon Molapo became openly a warm advocate of annexation to Natal, and several other leading chiefs, including Moshesh himself, were suspected of secretly holding the same views.

At this juncture Sir Walter Currie was replaced as high commissioner's agent by Mr. James Henry Bowker, the officer next in rank in the frontier police, and the greater number of the police were withdrawn from the Lesuto and returned to their duties on the colonial border.

The protest of the Free State against the reception of the Basuto as British subjects and against the stoppage of ammunition was submitted to Lord Stanley, then secretary of state for foreign affairs, who referred it to the duke of Buckingham and Chandos, secretary of state for the colonies,

on the ground that it was not expedient to deal with the republics in South Africa through the foreign office.

The Free State delegates—the reverend Mr. Van de Wall and Mr. C. J. de Villiers—were received by the duke of Buckingham at the colonial office. They first requested that the proclamation of Sir Philip Wodehouse should be withdrawn, and the Free State be left alone to make terms with the Basuto. This was refused, and they then asked that an impartial commission should be sent from England to examine the case on the spot. This also was declined, and the delegates were informed that the queen's government would not withdraw the negotiations from the high commissioner and would only correspond with the president through him.

This action was in accordance with precedents, but it is doubtful whether the duke of Buckingham would not have made some concessions on this occasion if it had not been for the attitude of Sir Philip Wodehouse, for he had already informed the high commissioner that he thought his proceeding in proclaiming Basutoland British territory, without the previous acquiescence of the legislature of Natal, was in excess of the authority conferred upon him. Sir Philip had requested that the delegates should be referred back to him, and that the negotiations should be left in his hands, asking that he might be relieved if he was not permitted to carry out his own views. The secretary of state, fearing further complications, left the matter entirely to the high commissioner, agreed to the scheme which he advocated of governing the country for a time by an agent without annexation to either colony, and extended Sir Philip Wodehouse's term of office to enable him to bring the affair to a conclusion.

All this time a lengthy correspondence was being carried on between the high commissioner and the president of the Free State, but without any result.

On the 7th of May the volksraad resolved that the high commissioner should be asked if he would adhere to the boundary according to the treaty of Thaba Bosigo until the

result of the deputation to England should be known, or, failing that, if he would agree to some other line as a temporary measure, and guarantee to restore the land beyond it cleared and unoccupied in case the final decision should be that the Free State was entitled to it.

The high commissioner replied that he could not enter into any guarantee of the kind, that he wished to fix the temporary line as nearly as possible where the final line must be, and again proposed the old boundary with a belt of farms under the British government behind it. As the Free State government was complaining bitterly of the thefts to which its subjects were exposed by Basuto raids from beyond the Thaba Bosigo line, which its forces could not check, the high commissioner called the president's attention to the fact that stealing had not always been confined to one party in the strife, and referred to the report of the commission in 1861, in which the thefts by Jan Letele's followers from the Basuto of Moshesh were stated to have been in excess of those by the Basuto of Moshesh from the residents in the Smithfield district.

The volksraad rejected the high commissioner's proposal, and determined to await the result of the deputation to England. The correspondence was then continued on the questions of the thieving, which Sir Philip Wodehouse would do nothing to prevent until some settlement should be arrived at, and of charges brought by Moshesh against the burgher commandos of gross ill-treatment of Basuto women, which were investigated and disproved.

Mr. Bowker, as high commissioner's agent, found himself in the midst of intrigues, without any material force to rely upon. An analysis of their conduct showed him that there was not a chief among them all whose professions were of any worth.

As for old Moshesh, of the abilities for which he had once been so distinguished he retained very little more than his craftiness. He was feeble with age, and loved to talk for hours of the deeds of his youth and his prime, but could

not be kept steadfast to any present purpose. At one time he seemed to be in favour of the annexation of his country to Natal, in expectation of receiving strong reinforcements from that colony; then he spoke of renewing negotiations himself with the Free State, as the high commissioner's interference had not resulted in immediate peace; again, he expressed himself satisfied with what Sir Philip Wodehouse was doing, and desirous that the Lesuto should remain a reserve under the direction of the high commissioner.

Letsie was the one most to be depended upon, because he was the one who had most to gain from British protection. Molapo was doing all in his power to induce the tribe to throw in its lot with Natal, and openly applied to Mr. Shepstone, secretary for native affairs in that colony, to appoint an agent to reside with him. Masupha held himself aloof from the high commissioner's agent, and was known to be directing such skirmishing operations as were being carried on. Morosi was the head of a gang of thieves who were plundering the people in the Wittebergen reserve and the colonial districts beyond. The minor chiefs were scheming, each in order to secure something for himself at the expense of others.

As time wore on and no settlement was attained, many of the Basuto came to the conclusion that they had gained nothing by becoming British subjects. Some began even to suspect that the few police in the country were there to aid the Free State rather than them. Two or three discharged policemen took service in one of the Free State commandos, and were recognised there by Basuto spies, a circumstance which created so much suspicion that it was with difficulty Mr. Bowker could satisfy the chiefs that he was not responsible for their conduct.

Another event which increased this feeling of disaffection was the arrest by Mr. Austen, superintendent of the Wittebergen reserve, of Sekwati, son of the late chief Poshuli, on a charge of theft. In former years there had been living in the reserve a troublesome Hlubi headman named Josana

(son of Mini, third son of Umpangazita), whose misconduct at length necessitated his expulsion. He and his people then crossed over to the Free State side of the river, and during the war he took service under Commandant Webster. He was thus a declared enemy of the Basuto, and subject to be attacked. Some people of the reserve had sent their cattle to Josana's new location, where the pasturage was good, and placed them under his charge; while there they were swept off by Basuto raiders under Sekwati, but the owners, having joined Josana's people, followed the Basuto and retook their stock. Sekwati then carried off some horses from the reserve, when he was pursued by Mr. Austen, who arrested him and two of his followers. Twenty guns were taken from his other attendants. The robbers were sent by Mr. Austen to the prison at Aliwal North, and the preliminary steps were taken for their prosecution.

At once there was great excitement throughout the Lesuto, for the people maintained that Mr. Austen was taking the part of Josana against them, and had subjected to indignity a chief of such high rank as the son of Poshuli. Mr. Bowker found it necessary to urge the immediate release of the prisoners and the restoration of the guns. Mr. Austen declined, and the high commissioner was appealed to. The difficulty was surmounted by the release of Sekwati and his followers, after a confinement of over a month, on the grounds that they had been arrested in Basutoland and that it was uncertain whether the horses they were charged with stealing had not been taken from the Free State side of the river.

There was no attempt made to enforce authority, or to secure the observance of any law, English or Basuto. The most that was attempted by the high commissioner was to prohibit the sale of spirituous liquor in the country. The chiefs did each as he saw fit. Moroko had taken no part in the hostilities between the Free State and the Basuto since the treaty of Thaba Bosigo, nevertheless Masupha attacked him and carried off three thousand head of horned cattle

and nine thousand sheep. The followers of the same chief next plundered the waggon of an English trader who ventured to enter the Lesuto without their leave. Skirmishes with the Free State forces were frequent. In one of these, Lerothodi, Bereng, and a third son of Letsie were severely wounded, and a minor brother of these chiefs was killed.

While all was thus in confusion and the bond that united the Lesuto to the British empire was liable to be snapped at any moment, the Natal government was putting forth strenuous efforts to secure its annexation to that colony. On the 31st of July the legislative council passed a resolution that in the opinion of that house such annexation was highly desirable, "provided it be understood that it is not to remain purely a native colony, but that certain portions of the land be made available for white settlers; and provided also that such revenue be raised from it as shall render it at least self-supporting." Lieutenant-Governor Keate thereupon wrote to the secretary of state, urging that the boundary of 1864 should be adhered to, and that in addition Witsi's Hoek, which he asserted had always been Basuto territory, should be taken over, and the whole be incorporated with Natal. The addition of Witsi's Hoek would make communication easy and unbroken between all parts of the country from the Free State border to the sea.

A few days after this dispatch was written by Mr. Keate, the mail reached Capetown with the secretary of state's authority for the high commissioner to deal with the question as he should think best. Sir Philip Wodehouse immediately communicated this information to President Brand, and invited him to offer terms for discussion, to which the president replied that he must await the report of Messrs. Van de Wall and De Villiers. It was the middle of December before the result of the meeting of the delegates with the secretary of state was officially known, when the high commissioner again wrote stating that he would be at Aliwal

North not later than the 1st of February 1869, and hoped to find the president willing to enter into negotiations.

The Free State government then realised how entirely it was at Sir Philip Wodehouse's mercy. Its supplies of ammunition were cut off, while traders were disposing of powder and shot to the Basuto with hardly an attempt at concealment. Raids were frequently made into the Free State from beyond the Thaba Bosigo line, and the burgher commandos could not cross that line in pursuit without defying the British authorities. Under these circumstances the volksraad was convened for the 13th of January. Immediately after it met it resolved to appoint commissioners to treat with Sir Philip Wodehouse, and instructed the president to make the preliminary arrangements.

On the 4th of February 1869, nearly eleven months after the Basuto had been proclaimed British subjects, the high commissioner and the deputies of the Free State met in conference in Mr. Halse's house at Aliwal North. There were present to represent the Free State, President Brand, Advocate Hamelberg, and Messrs. J. J. Venter, C. J. de Villiers, and A. J. Bester, members of the volksraad. All correspondence since the proclamation of the 12th of March 1868 was considered as withdrawn, and it was arranged that negotiations should be commenced on a clear field.

The Free State claimed first a boundary line according to the treaty of Thaba Bosigo.

The high commissioner objected, and proposed instead a boundary as before the war of 1865, in which case the Free State might retain any amounts already received for land sold beyond it, and he would undertake to pay the sum of £50,000, which he would raise by the sale of farms.

The Free State refused this offer, and proposed instead to cede a small tract of land on its side of the Thaba Bosigo line.

The high commissioner declined, on the ground that the session would be insufficient to meet the needs of the Basuto; but offered a line from Kornet Spruit along the Langebergen

to Jammerberg Drift on the Caledon (the present southwestern boundary), further the Caledon river up to Jackman's Drift, and thence a line enclosing a triangular piece of territory in which the two former mission stations of Mekuatleng and Maboalela were situated.

The Free State agreed to the boundary between the Caledon and Kornet Spruit, but declined to give up the triangular tract west of the Caledon.

The high commissioner then proposed the Caledon river from Jammerberg Drift to its source, provided the volksraad would consent to Molapo becoming a British subject and the district occupied by him between the Putiatsana and the Caledon becoming British territory.

The Free State would agree if the high commissioner would pay £20,000 towards the war expenses.

The high commissioner declined to pay anything. He refused also to keep old animosities alive by surrendering the murderers of Bush and Krynauw, as the Free State wished him to do.

The discussion was carried on for a full week before all matters were arranged. Finally a convention was drafted by Mr. Hamelberg, slightly altered by Sir Philip Wodehouse, and signed on the 12th of February. It fixed the boundary as at present from Kornet Spruit to the junction of the Putiatsana and the Caledon; permitted Molapo to become a British subject on his making a written request to that effect to the volksraad, when the district between the Putiatsana and the Caledon was to become part of British Basutoland; gave such Basuto as were on the Free State side of the Caledon until the 31st of July to cross that river, after which date they could be expelled by force; and secured to the French mission society as property which it could hold under Free State jurisdiction, or sell if it should choose to do so, fifteen hundred morgen of ground at each of its former stations Mekuatleng and Maboalela. The thirteenth article of the convention provided for submitting to arbitration the claims of the Free State for

pecuniary compensation for the ground between the new boundary and that fixed by the treaty of Thaba Bosigo. And lastly, there was a clause that the volksraad might adopt, instead of this convention, the first proposal of the high commissioner, namely, the line of 1864 with a money payment of £50,000 and the proceeds of the farms already sold.

When the convention was signed, the high commissioner appointed Messrs. J. H. Bowker and H. J. Halse, with Mr. J. X. Merriman as land-surveyor, to act with the Free State delegates in marking out and planting beacons along the new line between Kornet Spruit and the Caledon. They found the line an excellent natural boundary for the greater portion of the distance, consisting as it did of well-defined ranges of hills with streams running in both directions.*

His Excellency then set out for the Lesuto, and arrived at Korokoro on the 19th of February. The chiefs with their followers were already commencing to assemble there, and on Monday the 22nd a great meeting took place. At half-past ten in the morning Sir Philip Wodehouse took a seat in the shade of a great rock, having with him Mr. Bowker, his agent in Basutoland, Sub-Inspector Surmon, of the frontier armed and mounted police, and Mr. Cripps, his private secretary. At his left hand were seated Letsie, Molapo, and Masupha, the three sons of Moshesh by his great wife. On his right were the reverend Messrs. Mabile, Jousse, Maitin, Keck, Duvoisin, and Dr. Casalis, of the French Protestant mission, Dr. Allard and the reverend Mr. Gerard, of the Roman Catholic mission, and a few other Europeans. Before him were grouped the minor chiefs Molitsane, Lesawana, Nehemiah, Sophonia, George, Tsekelo,

* It is as follows :—From the junction of Kornet Spruit with the Orange river along the centre of the former to the point nearest to Olifants Been, from that point by Olifants Been to the southern point of Langeberg, along the top of Langeberg to its north-western extremity, thence to the eastern point of Jammerberg, along the top of Jammerberg to its north-western extremity, and thence by a prolongation of the same line to the Caledon river.

and many others, with two or three thousand attendants behind them or posted wherever a footing was to be had on the face of the rock. Moshesh was too feeble to leave his residence on Thaba Bosigo.

The object of the meeting was to make the chiefs and people acquainted with the arrangements entered into at Aliwal North, and to secure their ratification of the convention, which was as much needed as that of the secretary of state or the volksraad. Through the reverend Mr. Mabilie, who acted as interpreter, the high commissioner explained to the people assembled that he had secured for them as good terms as they could reasonably expect, that the territory within the new boundary was ample for their requirements as he would make provision in Nomansland for the clans that had migrated to that country during the war, and that their future fortunes rested with themselves.

Molitsane was the only one of the chiefs who openly objected to the arrangement. He demurred to giving up his old location west of the Caledon, but ceased opposition when the high commissioner promised him the district vacated by Makwai. Of the three sons of Moshesh by his great wife, Molapo was the one whose power was weakened most by the substitution of the line of the Caledon for that of 1864, and he made no open complaints, but confined his remarks to a request that he might be received as a British subject. After full discussion, the chiefs and missionaries professed to concur in the view that the settlement was as satisfactory as under the circumstances they could hope for, and the leading chiefs promised to carry it out.

The high commissioner then announced that as soon as the convention was ratified by the Imperial and Free State governments magistrates would be appointed, when he hoped an era of order and prosperity would be entered upon. The people would be required to pay the hut-tax already agreed to, but in consideration of the circumstances of the country it would be optional with each man to contribute in money, grain, or live stock. The high commissioner would hence-

forth exercise the right of assigning ground to clans and individuals, a right always held and acted upon by the supreme authority in every tribe. The country would be divided into three districts, in each of which one of the principal chiefs would be stationed.

To none of these announcements was there any objection made, but every one who spoke at all agreed to them.

Next day Sir Philip Wodehouse visited Moshesh, who was as profuse of thanks and expressions of satisfaction as he had always been on similar occasions. He was, however, so feeble in mind and body that not much value could be attached to what he said.

The high commissioner then issued a few simple trading regulations, in which the charges for licenses were fixed at £10 a year or £1 a month, and in which the sale of intoxicating liquor was prohibited under penalty of a fine not exceeding £10 for the first offence and loss of license for the second, together with forfeiture of all spirits in possession of the trader. The police in the Lesuto, one hundred men in all, were distributed in four camps, one on the Orange river, one on Kornet Spruit, and two on the Caledon, with the object of suppressing cattle lifting.

As nothing further could be done until the ratification of the convention, the high commissioner left Thaba Bosigo, and passing through rich fields of ripening corn to the Orange river, he made his way over the Drakensberg into Nomansland. There he assigned locations to the emigrant Basuto chiefs Makwai and Lebenya, as also to the Hlubi chief Zibi and the Batlokua chief Lebana. On the way down he had an interview with Morosi, who requested to be allowed to cast in his lot with the rest of the Basuto tribe. The high commissioner, however, doubted his sincerity, and told him he must take time to consider the matter.

It had become necessary to select a site for the permanent residence of the high commissioner's agent, and as Korokoro was in many respects unsuitable, in March 1869 Mr. Bowker moved to Maseru, a much better situation.

Notwithstanding the nominal assent of the chiefs to the new boundary, in reality most of them were bitterly disappointed with it. They had imagined that on their becoming British subjects Sir Philip Wodehouse would use his power to recover for the tribe all the country that had once been Moshesh's. Their discontent was fanned by Mr. Buchanan, who represented to them that they had been grievously wronged, and that if they would send him to England as their agent he would probably be able to prevent the ratification of the convention and obtain for them all the land within the old boundary.

Sir Philip Wodehouse's back was hardly turned upon the Lesuto when intrigues were set on foot to reverse what he had done. Molapo, Nehemiah, and Tsekelo were busy openly stirring up disaffection, and many others were secretly working with them. Letters were written by Tsekelo for his father, promising to collect three hundred and eighty head of cattle to defray the cost of an embassy to England, and asking Mr. Buchanan to go himself and plead with the queen. Molapo sent Makotoko, his principal counsellor, with Tsekelo to Natal, to confer with Mr. Buchanan there. Letsie alone among the chiefs, though he was cautiously trying how far he could ignore Mr. Bowker, would have nothing to do with the movement, for he could not possibly gain anything by it, and might lose much.

The reverend Mr. Daumas was then living in Natal. His judgment seems to have been warped by the troubles he had gone through and by disappointment that his station of Mekuatleng, where he had lived and laboured for twenty-eight years, had not been restored to him.* His colleagues

* That he was suffering from aberration of mind is placed almost beyond doubt by the evidence afforded by a map and certain information which he furnished to the government of Natal, and which the imperial government published in a bluebook. That this "good and gentle old father," as the writer has heard Mr. Daumas described by more than one who was intimately acquainted with him, prepared a map so misleading as the one referred to and which is at complete variance with former productions of his own associates, can be satisfactorily accounted for in no other way.

in the Lesuto, though deeply grieved that the new boundary did not include Mekuatleng and Maboela on the north and Hebron* and Poortje on the south, were willing to accept the situation, and indeed expressed an opinion that their efforts to christianise the Basuto would be advanced rather than retarded by the change that had taken place. Without their concurrence Mr. Daumas entered into Mr. Buchanan's schemes.

A memorial, praying the secretary of state to advise the queen not to ratify the convention, was prepared in Natal, and though only sixteen signatures could be obtained to it, was forwarded through the lieutenant-governor. Preparations were hurried on, and without waiting for the contribution in cattle which Moshesh had promised, in April Messrs. Buchanan and Daumas sailed for England, taking Tsekelo with them.

Mr. Bowker, who described the situation as one of "treason on every side," now endeavoured to take the first step towards the restoration of order. This was the removal of Molitsane from the neighbourhood of Mekuatleng to the district along the new south-western boundary which had been left vacant by the emigration of Makwai. When called upon to move, Molitsane made various excuses. He asserted that Moshesh had ordered him either to remain where he was or to join Moperi in Witsi's Hoek. Mr. Bowker informed him that if he did not move at once the vacant district would be given to Fingos from the Wittebergen reserve, and he would be left, without assistance or a place of refuge, to meet the Free State forces

That he was a simple tool in the hands of one of stronger will has been advanced as an explanation by one who was thoroughly conversant with the whole matter, but this seems to me rather to corroborate than to disprove the view here given, and which was held by his most intimate colleagues.

* On the 13th of June 1866 by a resolution of the volksraad this station, under the name Verliesfontein, had been restored to Mr. Jan de Winnaar, upon condition of his giving up the farm Vlakfontein, which he had received as compensation for it after the war of 1858.

when the term of grace accorded by the Aliwal convention should expire. Molitsane* then pretended to submit, and without further loss of time abandoned the district which he had occupied since 1837, and moved to the location assigned to him. His sons, however, remained in the Koranaberg.

After the departure of Messrs. Buchanan and Daumas with Tsekelo, the different chiefs began to vie with each other in protestations of fidelity to the British government and submission to the orders of the high commissioner's agent. Moshesh, Letsie, Masupha, the principal minor chiefs, even Molapo, sent messages denying that they had anything to do with the mission to England. Their object was apparent: to keep in Sir Philip Wodehouse's favour if the mission should fail, to profit by it should it prove successful. Mr. Bowker, who knew exactly what value to place upon the assurances of the chiefs, looked around for some means of governing the country, and eventually concluded that the simplest plan would be to introduce a body of Fingos and locate them upon the vacant lands. On inspection he found that there was plenty of room for a large number of such immigrants, and they could be depended upon to support the British authorities. He proposed to the high commissioner that a beginning should be made with Josana, but upon inquiry that petty chief was found to have too small a following to be of any service, and before the plan could be carried further the course of events was changed.

In May Messrs. Buchanan and Daumas, with Tsekelo, arrived in England, and at once set about securing supporters among those benevolent individuals whose sympathy with distress cannot be too highly extolled, but whose very virtues often expose them to be made the means of doing great wrongs. The Aborigines Protection Society took them by the hand, and soon the prominent mission societies in England and Scotland were aiding and abetting them.

* He was then a very old man, but still in possession of all his faculties. He died on the 2nd of October 1885, at the age of fully one hundred years.

These philanthropic people were told that Sir Philip Wodehouse was taking away from a simple and almost defenceless tribe the greater portion of the territory which it had inherited from its ancestors, and was giving the land to cruel and rapacious Europeans who were despoilers of churches and scorers of the rights of coloured people. They did not imagine that in reality they were being asked to aid in perpetuating anarchy and crime. Without that close inquiry which alone could enable them to arrive at the truth, they accepted statements which agreed with preconceived opinions, and shortly that vast machinery which philanthropy can put in motion in England was at work to oppose Sir Philip Wodehouse's settlement of the Basuto difficulty.

The secretary of state for the colonies, upon a request from the directors of the Paris mission society that he would grant an audience to Mr. Daumas, and a similar request from Mr. Buchanan on his own behalf, consented to an interview. It took place on the 22nd of June. Messrs. Buchanan, Daumas, and Tsekelo were accompanied by several members of the imperial parliament. They laid before Earl Granville a memorial signed by seventeen members of the house of commons and the secretary of the Aborigines Protection Society, setting forth Mr. Buchanan's views, and praying that her Majesty's government would annul the convention of Aliwal North. The secretary of state hereupon wrote to the high commissioner, expressing full confidence in him, but asking for further explanations.

While the delay in bringing about a settlement was thus prolonged, the Lesuto remained a scene of confusion and violence. The only revenue that could be collected was in the form of licenses from European traders, which brought in no more than £6 or £7 monthly. Mr. Bowker was without any real power, and each chief was acting independently of central control.

Ramanela, ever a prime mover in deeds of violence, had continued depredations upon the Free State farmers, without

any regard for the high commissioner's proclamation and subsequent instructions. Molapo offered to chastise him, but President Brand would not consent to his doing so while he remained a Free State subject. Mr. Bowker, however, authorised Molapo to punish the robber, which he did by falling upon him and seizing about a thousand head of cattle.

At the end of July the country on the Free State side of the Caledon was still as fully occupied by Basuto as it had been in March 1868. Molitsane himself had moved to Makwai's old kraal, but his sons were still in the Koranaberg. Parties of Basuto were even crossing from their own side and settling on the other.

The high commissioner's position was made more difficult by the action of the Cape parliament. The frontier police under Mr. Bowker in the Lesuto had been reduced to thirty-six men, and if they were withdrawn there would be no representatives of the British government left, for there was no revenue out of which salaries could be paid. Under these circumstances the legislative council requested the high commissioner to give "such information as would show that the employment of a portion of the frontier police in Basutoland was of colonial importance and necessary to its security." The house of assembly, after a lengthy and warm discussion in which the greatest sympathy was expressed with the Free State, passed a resolution by a majority of twenty-seven to six, in which it repudiated the idea that Basutoland could be regarded as a part of the frontier, or as a territory to be defended, except temporarily, by the armed and mounted police, the finances of the colony being wholly inadequate to sustain such a charge for any length of time. The high commissioner could only reply that the police would be withdrawn without any unnecessary delay.

Sir Philip Wodehouse's explanations to the secretary of state showed with how little justice he could be accused of wronging the Basuto. He had recovered for them so much more ground than they needed that his agent in the country

was proposing to introduce Fingos to fill it and create a balance of power, while Moshesh—*i.e.* his minor sons acting in his name — was actually at this very time renewing overtures to Jan Letele's people and other subjects of the Free State to come in and ally themselves with his tribe. Mr. Bowker computed that there would not be more than five thousand individuals affected by the substitution of the Caledon for the boundary of 1864, but this number was certainly too small.

The secretary of state, being satisfied on these points, next raised an objection to the thirteenth article of the convention, which provided for the submission to arbitration of the claims of the Free State for payment for the land restored to the Basuto. He was not prepared to make any compensation, and if this article was insisted upon by the Free State, the convention must be annulled. If it were expunged he would advise her Majesty to ratify the remaining clauses.

As early as the 5th of May the volksraad had ratified the convention. Only one member voted against it, that one preferring Sir Philip Wodehouse's alternative, — the boundary of 1864 with a body of farmers under English rule behind it, and the payment of £50,000 in money. And now that the question was opened again, the president, in order to promote a settlement, consented to the thirteenth article being expunged.

The chief Letsie, to whose interest it was, more than to that of any other individual in the country, to be under British protection, became alarmed when he heard that there was a possibility of the convention being set aside. His father was too infirm to take an active part in affairs. His brother Molapo was in a position of independence of the other Basuto. He himself was not yet recognised as paramount chief. If the convention were annulled, and the war were renewed, he would certainly be ruined. "In fear and astonishment" therefore, as he caused to be written, he had a memorial drawn up to the secretary of state. In it he

declared that he was fully satisfied with the arrangements made by Sir Philip Wodehouse, ignored any connection with the mission of Mr. Buchanan and Tsekelo, and prayed that the English government would not withdraw its protection. The document was signed by Letsie himself, his eldest son Lerothodi, and his sub-chiefs and counsellors.

Before this memorial could reach England, Mr. Buchanan had lost favour with Earl Granville. In his conceit he spoke of "his intention to lay waste the Free State," and of "the peace of the Free State being a great deal more in his hands than in those of the high commissioner." In violent language he abused Sir Philip Wodehouse, and brought charges against him which Earl Granville knew to be contrary to fact. In reply he was curtly informed that Earl Granville "apprehended the law would be found to forbid such proceedings (as those he contemplated), and that it would probably be put in force by the authorities of the Free State and by those of the neighbouring British colonies." And instructions were sent to the lieutenant-governor of Natal to prevent him from carrying out his threats. This rebuff did not silence him, however, and he continued to make the most extravagant complaints accompanied by statements altogether misleading.

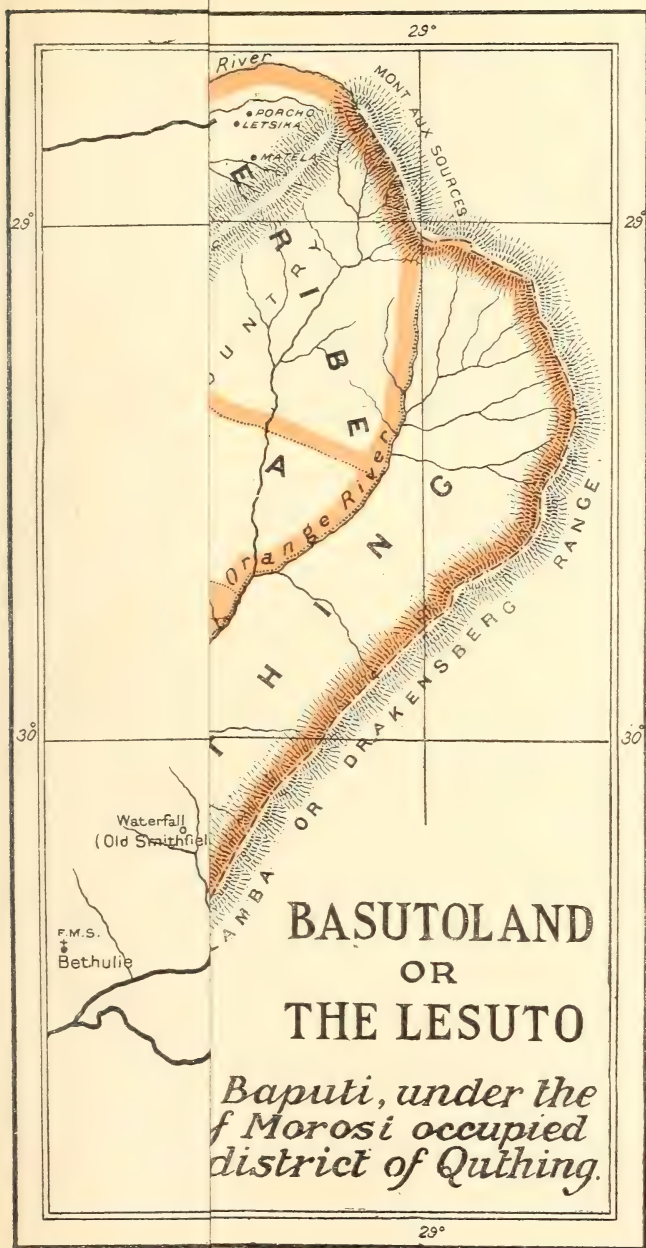
Unfortunately most of the leading missionary associations in Great Britain, as well as the Paris society, had already adopted Mr. Buchanan's views, and were pressing them upon the secretary of state. One name especially was mixed up with these proceedings which every true-hearted man would fain blot out if truth did not forbid it,—the name of the venerable Dr. Duff, the celebrated Indian missionary of the Free church of Scotland. Dr. Duff had made a short visit to the mission stations in the Lesuto in 1864, at the time when the Free State was intent only on preserving a boundary line which three English governors—Sir Harry Smith, Sir George Grey, and Sir Philip Wodehouse—had laid down. The Basuto had invaded and taken possession of land far beyond that line, and all that the Free State

desired was that they should withdraw within it. Naturally, under such circumstances, the feeling between the two races was not friendly. Yet Dr. Duff, who was not long enough in the country to correct earlier prejudices, and who heard only the Basuto version of the story, could write that he was "forced to the conclusion that the Boers were the chief aggressors," and that he "fervently trusted the convention would not be ratified."

Owing to so many obstructions, it was only at the close of December 1869 that the convention was ratified by her Majesty's government. The despatch conveying this information had already reached Sir Philip Wodehouse when another memorial was presented to the secretary of state. It was signed by Lord Shaftesbury, Lord Alfred Churchill, sixteen members of the house of commons, General Shaw, Sir James Alexander, Dr. Duff as convener of missions of the Free church of Scotland, Dr. Mullins as foreign secretary of the London Missionary Society, Mr. James Davis as secretary of the Evangelical Alliance, and Mr. F. W. Chesson as secretary of the Aborigines Protection Society. It was a statement of the views held by those gentlemen, such as can only be ascribed to defective information, and a prayer that the convention of Aliwal should not be ratified. Earl Granville replied that after receiving detailed explanations from Sir Philip Wodehouse, the convention had been approved of some weeks before.

On the 10th of March 1870 the document as amended was signed in Capetown by Mr. P. G. van der Byl, as agent for the Orange Free State. There still remained the formality that the volksraad should concur in the president's approval of the thirteenth article being expunged, which they did on the 3rd of the following May. Owing to the treaty of September 1858 having been drawn up at the same place, this document, as now finally confirmed by all parties, is officially termed the second treaty or convention of Aliwal North.

XIII.





CHAPTER LXXVII.

EVENTS IN THE ORANGE FREE STATE TO THE CLOSE OF 1870.

Discovery of Diamonds and its consequences

IN a previous chapter it was stated that Mr. David Arnot, agent-at-law, on behalf of the Griqua captain Nicholas Waterboer laid claim to the Campbell district, west of the Vaal river, and also to a large strip of territory east of the Vaal, that had formed part of the European section of the Orange River Sovereignty and was transferred by Sir George Clerk to the assembly that established the Orange Free State. The Griqua clan under Nicholas Waterboer has not been mentioned frequently in these pages, because after 1848 it took no part in any event of importance. With Andries Waterboer, father of Nicholas, a treaty had been made by Sir Benjamin D'Urban in December 1834, in which the chief undertook "to protect that portion of the colonial border opposite to his own, namely the line from Kheis on the Orange river to Ramah, against all enemies and marauders from the interior who might attempt to pass through his territory." This treaty originated with the missionaries of the London society, who were desirous of securing for Waterboer the recognised position of captain of Griquatown. He had been a teacher in one of their schools, and was elected to be captain of the station when the Koks and Barend Barends moved away to other localities.

In the treaty of 1834 there is no definition of boundaries except that in the clause above quoted, and indeed the government not of Andries Waterboer only, but of all the

Griqua captains, was at that time tribal rather than territorial. The Griquas, who were the latest intruders, did not claim or attempt to exercise jurisdiction over the Korana and Batlapin clans among whom they were living, and who had for many years been wandering about in the territory west of the Vaal. In the treaty it was necessary to define the extent of border along which Andries Waterboer undertook to perform police duty in return for a certain consideration, and so the line from Kheis to Ramah was named. At that time the Griquas had outposts south of the Orange, and in Sir Benjamin D'Urban's despatches to the secretary of state he expressly mentions that they were occupying both banks of the river.

In a conversation with several of the captains, Sir Peregrine Maitland stated that Waterboer's country might adjoin that of Adam Kok, and Kok's western boundary had then been fixed by treaty from Ramah on the Orange to David's Graf at the junction of the Riet and Modder. But whether Waterboer could claim along the whole of that line, or only along the southern portion of it, was not decided. Owing to there being no Europeans in the district which his clan occupied, and no likelihood of any ever trying to settle there or to pass through in search of vacant land beyond, Dr. Philip and the colonial government did not consider it necessary to make any fresh arrangements with him when the treaty states under Adam Kok, Moshesh, and Faku were created.

Sir Harry Smith treated Andries Waterboer in the same common-sense manner as he treated Adam Kok, Cornelis Kok, and Moshesh. He took from none of them anything to which they had a moral right or of which they were making proper use; but he deprived all of them of large tracts of land to which they had no other title than expressions of preceding governors made in ignorance of their history, or treaties that had produced nothing but discord and bloodshed. Adam Kok and Moshesh were induced by him to attach their names to agreements which destroyed

the treaty states; Cornelis Kok and Andries Waterboer were dealt with on the same principle, but as there was no treaty with one of them and the treaty with the other did not define any boundaries, it was not necessary to obtain their consent in writing to new arrangements. On the 17th of December 1847 Sir Harry Smith issued a proclamation, without the slightest reference to Andries Waterboer, in which the Cape Colony was extended to the Orange river along its whole course; and on the 3rd of February 1848 he proclaimed her Majesty's sovereignty over the entire territory between the Orange and the Vaal, without any regard to either Cornelis Kok or Andries Waterboer.

No right of property was disturbed by these proclamations. Whatever land in the country south of the Orange and east of the Vaal was in possession of individuals—which was very little indeed—remained to them to retain or to sell as they chose; but the dominion of these two Griqua captains and their councils was there replaced by that of her Majesty's government. The captains were not deposed, nor were their rights of dominion in any way disturbed in the districts where they resided and where their people—with very few exceptions—lived. These districts were north of the Orange and west of the Vaal. Cornelis Kok remained with sovereign power over his retainers at Campbell, and Andries Waterboer remained with the same powers at Griquatown.

In December 1852 Andries Waterboer died. The people of Griquatown then elected his son Nicholas as his successor, and applied to the high commissioner for a renewal with him of the treaty of 1834. But this the high commissioner declined. The treaty of 1834 was personal, they were informed, and ceased to be of effect upon the death of the captain with whom it had been made. The policy of the imperial government at this time was entirely opposed to such treaties.

The Free State government acted towards Nicholas Waterboer in a most considerate manner. The volksraad approved,

with a slight alteration, of the boundary laid down by Adam Kok as arbitrator between his district and that of Cornelis Kok in October 1855, and thereafter he was treated not only as owner but as sovereign of the territory east of the Vaal enclosed by the Orange river, the line from Ramah towards David's Graf, and the Vetberg line.

Waterboer's people at this time were retrograding in civilisation. They never were in the advanced state of improvement described in mission reports of earlier years, but they had once been in possession of a large amount of property. Such prosperity as they had enjoyed a generation before had now nearly disappeared, owing partly to causes beyond their control, partly to their conceit and indolence.

The territory occupied by the clan is a continuation of the great plain stretching westward from the Maluti range, though portions of its surface are broken by ranges of hills. The plain becomes more arid as one advances westward, and the pasturage gradually gets thinner until finally the desert is reached. There is not a single permanently flowing river in the whole district of Griquatown. Along the Orange, which is its southern boundary, a strip of land some ten miles or sixteen kilometres in breadth is an absolute desert. The soil elsewhere consists, in general, of only a few inches of sand overlying strata impenetrable by rain. It is, therefore, a country in which agriculture cannot be carried on, except in a few situations where there are fountains or where the water that occasionally falls in torrents can be conserved. For some reason, as yet unexplained, the country has been drying up, and fountains which the first missionaries found yielding water sufficient to irrigate large areas of ground do not now rise to the surface.

It is a region of protracted droughts and terrible electrical storms. When rain falls, it is often in a destructive deluge, and is usually confined to a narrow belt. A bank of vapour, whose blackness is intensified by streaks of the most vivid

lightning playing upon it, is seen rapidly advancing over the plain. The air is oppressively calm and hot, and as the storm-cloud rushes on, in advance may be heard a low moaning sound, caused by the vibrations which it communicates to the atmosphere. Beneath the cloud water is falling, not in drops but in sheets, while the roar of thunder is almost continuous and deafening. In the midst of a storm like this the stoutest heart is appalled, and even wild animals are helpless with fear. In from five minutes to an hour the bank passes over, and leaves behind it miniature lakes in every hollow and gullies on every slope. Several years may pass without such a storm, but very grand electrical displays, in which no rain falls, are frequent. In the summer season much discomfort is often caused by sand and dust being caught up by whirlwinds and blown about until the air is darkened. Under such conditions, the construction of reservoirs for storing water requires an amount of engineering skill beyond that which the Griqua is capable of acquiring.

But these people never depended upon agriculture. The ten or a dozen gardens, and orchards, and rows of trees along watercourses, of which glowing accounts can be found in mission reports, were really due to the labour of the missionaries themselves and of a few blacks who had been slaves in the Cape Colony. The early prosperity of the Griquas was derived from the chase. For many years after their settlement at Klaarwater or Griquatown, they were without rivals in this pursuit, than which nothing could be more congenial to their habits. With ivory, ostrich feathers, whips of hippopotamus and rhinoceros hide, and skins of lions, jackals, and other animals, they obtained in the Cape Colony waggons, rifles, ammunition, English clothing, coffee, sugar, and whatever else they needed or had a fancy for. The dried flesh of antelopes was their principal food. Their excursions in pursuit of game extended far into the heart of South Africa, and often lasted five or six months. In these expeditions the women usually accompanied their

husbands, though the children were left behind under care of some aged relative, and lived mainly upon milk until their parents' return.

This condition of prosperity lasted until European hunters—chiefly those of Zoutpansberg—supplanted the Griquas in the interior, and all the large game in their neighbourhood was destroyed. An enterprising people would then have turned their attention to breeding sheep and oxen, but this branch of industry was generally neglected. Those who tried it became disheartened on the outbreak of a new disease which destroyed great numbers of horned cattle. Traders were now among them, with Cape brandy as the principal article for sale, and what property was left soon disappeared. Indolence, almost surpassing description, and conceit, born of past prosperity and fostered by the thought that they had a tinge of European blood in their veins, prevented them from making any effort to improve their condition. In 1870 some five or six hundred individuals of both sexes and all ages, most of whom were steeped in poverty and wretchedness, constituted the Griqua clan under Nicholas Waterboer. Any influence that they once had with the Koranas and Batlapin in that part of the country had long since been lost, and there was no possibility of their ever regaining it.

The clan occupied the territory called the district of Griquatown, which was north of the Orange and west of the Vaal. Some of the Batlapin chiefs asserted that they were the proper owners of it, as they had taken it from the Bushmen before the arrival of either Koranas or Griquas, but no white man disputed the Griqua right, or attempted to get possession of land there.

Waterboer's sovereignty was also undisputed in the district east of the Vaal, and enclosed by the Vetberg line, the line from Ramah towards David's Graf, and the Orange river. This tract of country had recently acquired the name of Albania, and was partly occupied by white people under a plan of settlement devised by Mr. Arnot.

In January 1867 circulars were issued in Waterboer's name in and about Grahamstown, offering farms of three thousand morgen in extent on lease for twenty-one years, at rentals varying from £5 to £25 a year, according to the quality of the land. The leases were to be renewable on the same terms for as long a period as the occupants or their heirs or successors might choose. A council of lessees was practically to form a government, though public documents were to run in Waterboer's name. A portion of the rents was to be at the disposal of the council for public purposes. This plan of settlement was intended to give Waterboer a revenue until the occupiers of the farms might choose to repudiate him, and under any circumstances he could lose nothing except his sovereignty over ground which his own people were too few and too feeble to make use of.

Some ten or a dozen Englishmen accepted the terms offered, and took up their abode in Albania. To this, no reasonable objection could be offered by anyone. When issuing his circulars, however, Mr. Arnot attached a map to them, in which Waterboer's territory was made to comprise not only the districts of Griquatown and Albania, which really belonged to him, but the district of Campbell, west of the Vaal and adjoining Griquatown, and portions of the districts of Boshof and Jacobsdal, east of the Vaal and included in the Orange Free State from the day it came into existence. This was brought to the notice of the government at Bloemfontein, and on the 14th of March 1867 an advertisement was inserted in the newspapers by the state secretary — Mr. J. C. Nielen Marais — warning all persons against having anything to do with the scheme.

The territory east of the Vaal and north of Albania, which Mr. Arnot claimed for Waterboer, having formed part of the European section of the Sovereignty from 1848 to 1854 and having been transferred in 1854 by Sir George Clerk to the provisional government which established the Orange Free State, was not regarded by President Brand and the volksraad as subject to dispute. The Vetberg line, however,

which separated it from Albania, was not marked by beacons along its whole course as clearly as it should have been. On the 12th of May 1869, therefore, the volksraad approved of a commission being appointed by the president to examine it and define it distinctly, in conjunction with persons named by Waterboer. Messrs. C. W. Hutton, F. McCabe, and D. J. van Niekerk were chosen to form the commission. On his part, Waterboer agreed to a meeting on the 31st of May at Swinkspan, one of the three farms which Adam Kok allotted to him when laying down the Vetberg line in 1855, but which the government of the Free State kept possession of, as it was held under a British title issued in 1849. The farm was included in the district of Jacobsdal.

But when the commission reached the place appointed, Waterboer did not appear. In his stead, Mr. Arnot was there, and he repudiated the Vetberg line altogether. For his client he asserted a claim to all that portion of the Free State situated west of a line from David's Graf near the junction of the Riet and Modder rivers to Platberg on the Vaal river, stating that it had once been under the government of Waterboer's father, and that no one but he had a right to dispose of it. The Free State commission did not attempt to argue the matter, as they might as well have discussed the ownership of the market square of Bloemfontein. Instead, they proceeded to erect beacons along the Vetberg line, William Corner, who was Cornelis Kok's son-in-law and who was present when Adam Kok acted as arbitrator in October 1855, pointing out the boundary then made wherever it was doubtful.

The other tract of land claimed by Mr. Arnot on behalf of Nicholas Waterboer was the Campbell district, west of the Vaal. The Griqua pretensions to the ownership of this ground were treated with every consideration by the president and the volksraad of the Orange Free State, as the title on which their own claim was based—the deed of sale by Adam Kok as heir of Cornelis Kok—was open to dispute, though they believed their case was a good one. In 1864

Sir Philip Wodehouse was requested to arbitrate in the matter, and consented to do so, but Waterboer declined to sign the deed of submission after it had been drawn up by the attorney-general of the Cape Colony. Mr. Arnot wished to include the land east of the Vaal, and Waterboer would only act by his advice. Then the Basuto war of 1865-6 occupied the attention of the Free State government, to the exclusion of less pressing matters.

On the 21st of January 1867 Mr. Arnot brought the matter on again, by offering to submit his client's claim to the arbitration of Sir Philip Wodehouse, provided the land east of the Vaal and north of the Vetberg line should be included in the dispute. The Free State government rejected this offer, as they would not admit that there was any valid ground of contention concerning territory that had been transferred to them by Sir George Clerk, and in which many of the farms were held under British titles. On the 20th of June, therefore, the volksraad resolved that if Waterboer would not consent within four months to refer the question of the ownership of the Campbell district, without reference to any other territory, to the arbitration and decision of Sir Philip Wodehouse, the president should send a commission to inspect the ground preparatory to further action being taken. But the difficulties which followed with the Basuto, and which necessitated a call of the burghers to arms within a month after the adoption of this resolution, absorbed the attention of the Free State government; and this matter was allowed to stand over till a more convenient time.

On the 31st of March 1870 President Brand had a conference with Waterboer at Backhouse, and the captain then consented to submit the question of the ownership of the Campbell district alone to the arbitration of Sir Philip Wodehouse. The president forwarded a deed of submission duly signed by both parties, but on the 5th of May the high commissioner replied that he was unable to act in the matter, as he was about to leave South Africa.

The volksraad then sent Messrs. Steyn and Höhne to Waterboer to endeavour to induce him to come to some friendly arrangement. They succeeded in obtaining his promise to appoint a commission to meet one from the Free State, with power to settle the dispute. It was agreed that the commissions should meet on the 15th of August at Nooitgedacht, near the ford on the Vaal river known as Klipdrift.

The commissioners of the Free State were President Brand and the members of the executive council, namely Mr. F. K. Höhne, government secretary, Mr. F. McCabe, landdrost of Bloemfontein, and Messrs. M. Steyn, J. W. Louw, and Jeremias Venter. Attorney C. J. Vels accompanied the commission to conduct the case, and the secretary of the volksraad was employed to keep a record of the proceedings.

On arriving at a farm named Nooitgedacht at the appointed time, the commission found no representatives of the Griqua clan; but next day they learned that the kraal of the Korana captain Barend Bloem north of the Vaal bore the same name, and that Waterboer was there in waiting. Accordingly they proceeded to Bloem's kraal, and on the 18th the conference commenced. Waterboer was accompanied by seven of the Griqua councillors, and by Mr. Arnot and Attorney D. C. Grant to conduct his case. The meetings took place in a tent pitched for the occasion. A large number of people, either interested in the case or drawn together by curiosity, had assembled to watch the proceedings. A commission from the South African Republic, consisting of President Pretorius, Mr. John Robert Lys, member of the volksraad, and the state secretary Proes, was there also, and desired to be admitted as a party to the dispute, for the government at Pretoria claimed territory that was supposed to overlap a portion of the Campbell district. Neither the Free State nor the Griqua commission, however, would consent to admit a third party at this stage of the proceedings.

Waterboer's case was first stated. It rested chiefly on the following grounds:

(a) The treaty between Sir Benjamin D'Urban and his father in 1834, which proved nothing relevant.

(b) A treaty between his father and Adam Kok, dated on the 9th of November 1838, in which all the land west of a line from Ramah on the Orange to Platberg on the Vaal was assigned to Andries Waterboer, and Cornelis Kok was completely ignored. This document was regarded as of great importance on the Griqua side of the controversy. But in reality it was of no more value than the treaty of Dover would be in a dispute between France and the Netherlands. Just before it was made the elder Adam Kok, to whom Dr. Philip had given the district of Philippolis, died, and his sons Abraham and Adam fought for the succession. Cornelis Kok aided his nephew Abraham, and Andries Waterboer aided Adam. The treaty was a division of territory between two allies against a common enemy. Abraham Kok was defeated, but his uncle Cornelis Kok held his own, was not subdued, and many years later was not only reconciled with the nephew against whom he had fought, but made that nephew his heir. Under such circumstances, the treaty of 1838 could not in justice be held to favour Waterboer's claim in the least.

(c) A treaty between his father and the Batlapin captain Mahura, dated on the 22nd of April 1842. This was an arrangement—if it was valid, which the Batlapin have ever since persistently denied—concerning territory to which neither of the contracting parties had any right or title, and affecting numerous clans and captains who knew nothing whatever of its existence.

(d) An assertion that Cornelis Kok had no right to dispose of land, he having been subordinate to Waterboer. It was hardly necessary to disprove this assertion, which was made in defiance of well-known historical facts; but the Free State commission did so by overwhelming testimony, including correspondence of Waterboer himself.

Further, Waterboer's case rested on ignoring many events connected with the Griquas since 1847, repudiating Sir Harry Smith's acts, turning his back upon his own doings before 1863, and making a stand upon rights alleged to have belonged to his father by implied consent of wandering clans at the time when the policy of building up large Bantu and Griqua states was favoured by the imperial government. He brought forward nothing that could substantiate his claim in the opinion of President Brand and the other Free State commissioners.

But he had as advocate and adviser a man of consummate skill in such matters, who made it a principle to contest a case to the very last point, and who felt a pleasure in fighting a legal battle with tremendous odds against him. There was no one else in South Africa so well qualified as Mr. Arnot to represent the Griqua captain. And he bore no love to the republics, so that his heart was in the task he had set himself to accomplish, which was to get as much territory as possible admitted to be Waterboer's, that it could afterwards be transferred to her Majesty's government. On the fifth day of the conference, when every one else considered the Griqua case completely broken down, he proposed that the evidence of the Griqua councillors who were present should be taken as to the status of Cornelis Kok. The Free State commission objected to their appearance as witnesses, because they were sitting in the capacity of judges. The objection does not seem to have been founded on good grounds, because if the councillors had any special knowledge they would make use of it when giving their votes in the final judgment, and the Free State commissioners would be in no worse position by hearing it.

The proposal was pressed, so the president and his associates asked for time to consider it, and the meeting was adjourned. Before it was opened again Mr. Arnot addressed the president in writing, asking if the government of the Free State would promise and undertake upon the conclusion of this question to submit the claim of

Waterboer to land east of the Vaal to the arbitration of Sir Philip Wodehouse's successor as high commissioner. The president replied, declining to do so. Upon this, the Griqua commission withdrew from the conference, and on the following day the members abruptly left Nooitgedacht, without notifying their intention to do so or taking leave of the other party.

A meeting then took place between the commissions of the Free State and the South African Republic. The latter claimed the territory north of the Vaal and east of the Hart, down to the junction of those rivers. After some discussion and production of documents, the Free State commission announced that it made no pretension to authority or ownership there. Messrs. Pretorius, Lys, and Proes expressed themselves satisfied, and the conference ended.

Having thus failed in obtaining an amicable settlement of the dispute with Waterboer, and being convinced that the pretensions made by Mr. Arnot on behalf of that captain were untenable, on the 29th of August 1870 President Brand, with the advice and consent of the executive council, issued from the Berlin mission station of Pniel a proclamation declaring the Campbell district, west of the Vaal river, the property of the Orange Free State. Its boundaries, as defined in the proclamation, were the Vaal river from the junction with the Hart down to the ford known as Koukonop Drift, thence a well-known and long-recognised line separating the districts of Griquatown and Campbell, and thence various points in the desert round to the starting place.

At this time the minds of Europeans throughout South Africa were entirely occupied by one fascinating subject, the discovery of diamonds. After the exhausting wars with the Basuto, the disastrous occurrences at Zoutpansberg, and the severe depression in agriculture and trade caused by a drought which had prevailed for several years in the Cape Colony, almost anything that could brighten the prospects of

the people would have been felt as a relief. And a marvellous change, not less than a complete revolution, from despondency to hope, from adversity to prosperity, had unexpectedly taken place.

Early in 1867 a farmer named Schalk van Niekerk, who resided in the district of Hopetown, in the Cape Colony, happening to call at the house of a neighbour, observed one of the children playing with a remarkably brilliant pebble. Small stones of different colours and various degrees of beauty are found in the bed of the Orange river along the whole of its upper course, and their appearance was familiar to every one in the Hopetown district. But this one with which the child was playing reflected the light in a different and more beautiful way than the pebbles ordinarily met with. The mistress of the house, on hearing Mr. Van Niekerk express his admiration of the stone, without any hesitation made him a present of it. Some little time after this, a trader named O'Reilly was in Van Niekerk's company, when the glittering pebble was shown to him as a curiosity. He instantly suspected it to be a diamond, and, after obtaining possession of it, sent it first to Grahamstown to Dr. Atherstone, and afterwards to Capetown to M. Herite, the French consul, to be tested. These gentlemen pronounced it to be a diamond. The gem weighed twenty-one carats, and was sold to the governor, Sir Philip Wodehouse, for £500.

Search was immediately commenced by several persons in the Hopetown district, and shortly a second diamond was found. Then, a third was picked up on the bank of the Vaal river, and attention was drawn to that quarter. During 1868 several gems were found, and in March 1869 the "Star of South Africa" was obtained from a Batlapin witchfinder, who had been in possession of it for a long time without the least idea of its value other than as a powerful charm. It was a magnificent brilliant of eighty-three carats weight when uncut, and it was readily sold for £11,000.

Still, belief in the existence of diamond-mines so close at hand was not widespread. Most people were of opinion that the gems had been accidentally lost, or concluded that ostriches had brought them from some far distant region of the interior. This was the belief of a professed expert who was sent out by a diamond merchant in England to inspect the country about Hopetown and report upon it.

But by the close of 1869 it had been proved that diamonds in large numbers were to be found along the northern bank of the Vaal, above the junction of the Hart, where some hundreds had been picked up by Koranas. In all parts of South Africa companies of diggers began to be fitted out. First to commence work was a party from Natal, who selected Hebron, close to the kraal of the Korana captain Barend Bloem, as a likely spot. Through the influence of Mr. Stafford Parker, an old trader in that part of the country, Bloem permitted the search to be carried on without molesting the strangers. Next to arrive was a party from King-Williamstown. The whole of the colonies and independent states were in such a wretchedly depressed condition that a large proportion of the population was ready to embark in any enterprise that would provide a subsistence. Diamond seeking held out better prospects than that. Mechanics and clerks, professional men and labourers, farmers and merchants, all who had nothing particular to do at the time, imagined that fortunes were to be made on the bank of the Vaal. That barren region, hitherto so lonely, began to resound with the bustle and din of an activity such as South Africa never before had witnessed in modern times.

It was extremely hard work, digging for diamonds; but men, whose lives had been passed in idleness, laboured there with a will. Emulation and excitement brought out powers hitherto latent, which surprised the diggers themselves. Along the Vaal diamonds were not found where they had originally been formed. An ancient mine must have been eaten into and worn away by the river, which did not

always flow in its present channel. The diamonds were washed down and deposited amid débris of all kinds, of which enormous boulders formed the principal ingredient. The masses of rock had to be removed before the ground could be taken out and conveyed to the stream, there to be washed in a cradle and the pebbles remaining to be sorted. Under the burning sun this labour was performed, willingly and cheerfully.

Along the river, camps of canvas tents rose as by magic. If a diamond was discovered in a new locality, the next day saw a camp there, the ground marked out, and diggers at work. For eighty or a hundred kilometres above the confluence of the Hart and the Vaal a crowd of men swayed backwards and forwards. The largest camp was at Klipdrift, now known as Barkly West, where a great many diamonds were found.

The territory in which these diamond-fields were situated was claimed by the South African Republic, and was included in the district of Bloemhof. But it was claimed also by the Barolong as part of their country, by the Batlapin as part of theirs, and by a Korana clan as its lawful inheritance. Last of all, Mr. David Arnot claimed it on behalf of Nicholas Waterboer.

The diggers did not trouble themselves about settling the question of ownership of the ground. At Hebron, the highest camp on the river, the authority of the South African Republic was acknowledged, and probably no resistance to this state would have been shown elsewhere if it had not been for an egregious blunder committed by the government. Just before the volksraad ended its session in June 1870, and when only twelve members were present, the executive was authorised to grant a concession of mining privileges to one of two companies that had made application. Upon this authority President Pretorius and the executive council granted to the firm of Messrs. A. J. Munnich, J. M. Posno, and H. B. Webb the exclusive right to search for diamonds in the territory along the Vaal above

the junction of the Hart, for twenty-one years from the 22nd of June 1870. The firm bound itself to pay a royalty of six per cent upon the diamonds found, which for that purpose were to be reckoned at £3 a carat irrespective of the size of the gems.

This concession utterly destroyed the authority of the South African Republic in all the lower camps. The diggers would not acknowledge the monopoly, and announced that they would resist with arms any attempt to enforce it. In the villages of the republic also objections to it were raised, as being most impolitic. The constitution required the executive council to give three months notice in the *Staats Courant* of all important laws to be brought before the volksraad, and as this course had not been observed, there was a general expression of opinion that the proceedings were illegal. The government was obliged to cancel the concession. But it was then too late. By that time the diggers at each camp had elected a committee to frame regulations for its government, and to carry them out. At Klipdrift a free republic was established, and Mr. Stafford Parker was elected president.

Upon discovering the effects of the error, President Pretorius visited the camps along the Vaal, and endeavoured to allay the irritation that was prevalent. He succeeded in making himself personally popular, but he was unable to restore confidence in a government at Pretoria, though he made offers of very large powers of local rule. On the 1st of September he wrote to the chairmen of the committees that the territory east of the Hart was part of the South African Republic, but that circumstances being peculiar there, he considered an entirely different system of government, according to the wishes of the diggers, must be adopted. He proposed to give them the right to elect their own officials, who were to be invested with extraordinary powers, and he desired that delegates should be elected by the people to meet him and discuss the best way in which the interests of the diggers could be promoted.

This overture was followed by a proclamation, dated at Klipdrift on the 10th of September 1870, in which the right of the South African Republic to the territory east of the Hart river was asserted, and the following basis of government was laid down :

“Whereas since the discovery of diamonds it is desirable to make particular regulations to promote the interests of the diggers and the residents in the said territory, be it known

“1. That the territory from the junction of the Hart river and the Vaal river, the latter river upwards to the Berris-drift, also called Hartebeest-hoorn, thence to the banks of the Hart river, in the direction of Enkele Kameelboom, shall never be given out in farms, but be kept exclusively for digging purposes, and be a separate district.

“2. That the said district shall have the name of Diamond District.

“3. That in the said district no special concession or preferent right shall be given to any one.

“4. That the English currency shall be the lawful currency in this territory.

“5. That the English language shall be the official language to be used in all courts.

“6. That considering the distance from the seat of government, a local executive of three members shall be appointed provisionally by me, to be approved of by the residents of the said territory.

“7. That the said executive shall assist the diggers in all possible ways, and subject to my approval frame laws, appoint officers, direct the laying out of towns, but carefully abstain from interfering in the administration of justice.

“8. That a resident magistrate shall be appointed for the administration of justice and the preservation of order, being as a judge independent of the executive.

“9. That nine heemraden shall be elected, four of whom, with the magistrate, shall form a court of appeal.

“10. That capital crimes shall belong to the jurisdiction of two magistrates and twelve jurymen.

“11. That for the salaries of the said officials, as well as for the payment of a proper police force, a license shall be paid by every digger : five shillings for three months.

“12. That no resident can be compelled to any commando or burgher duty, unless for the protection of the aforesaid diggers' territory.”

At the same time that President Pretorius was offering these concessions, the ground was being claimed by a man

named Theodor Doms, who styled himself political agent of the Barolong and Batlapin tribes, and who was in correspondence with the high commissioner concerning what he termed the rights of his clients. He also was ready to make almost unbounded concessions, if only his authority was recognised. The result was that parties were formed: one in favour of a free republic without acknowledgment of any of the claimants, another in favour of requesting the high commissioner to establish British authority, a third in favour of submission to the South African Republic, a fourth in favour of self-rule under pretence of an agreement with Doms acting in the name of the Barolong and Batlapin. It is needless to speculate as to how the dispute might have ended, for before a critical point was reached, richer deposits of diamonds were discovered elsewhere, and nearly all the diggers removed from the northern bank of the Vaal.

Early in 1870 diamonds were found by prospectors on the Free State side of the river, and in June of this year a party of men set to work on the mission station of Pniel, although the reverend Mr. Kallenberg, who was then the resident clergyman, ordered them away. The ground turned out to be particularly rich, and the missionary was then obliged to come to terms with the diggers and consent to their remaining on condition of one-fourth of the value of the gems found being paid to him for the directors of the Berlin society. The camp at this place rapidly increased in size. After the conference at Nooitgedacht it was visited by President Brand and the executive council of the Free State, who recognised at once that a court of justice on the spot was necessary, as the village of Jacobsdal, where the landdrost of the district resided, was more than forty miles or sixty-four kilometres distant. On the 29th of August 1870 Mr. Olof Johannes Truter, a gentleman of well-known ability, was appointed commissioner of the diamond-fields on the Free State side of the river, with the same power as a landdrost. He was to reside at Pniel, and hold a court there.

A little later in the year rumours spread that richer deposits were to be found far away from the river. Some children of a farmer named Van Wyk, residing at Dorstfontein, on the rim of a saucer-like depression of the ground known as Dutoitspan, had picked several small diamonds from the mud with which their dwelling was plastered. Forthwith search was made in the place from which the mud had been taken, and diamonds were found. A party of diggers hastened to Dutoitspan, and found several farmers, friends of the proprietor, already at work. They asked permission to dig, and offered to pay a reasonable fee to the owner of the ground, but were ordered away. The farmer did not want them there. But as they would not leave, he was obliged to come to terms, and the dry diggings—as they were called—were opened at Dorstfontein.

Dutoitspan was situated in a part of the Free State that thirty years earlier had been just on the border of the Griqua territory under the government of Cornelis Kok. The country in its neighbourhood had never been occupied by Griquas, except at a fountain here and there, but Kok claimed the land as far east as a line from the junction of the Riet and Modder rivers to Platberg on the Vaal, and his claim was recognised by the emigrant farmers. Such a line would pass on one side of Dorstfontein or the other, according to what part of Platberg was made the terminal point. It had never been marked by beacons. A large tract of land adjoining it on the east had been purchased in 1839 by Mr. D. S. Fourie from the Bushman captain David Danser, but only the crudest kind of measurement had been used to determine the positions of the farms, so that an opinion could be formed as to whether they were in Kok's district or in that obtained from Danser. If a farm was believed to be west of the line, Europeans who fancied to live in a region so desolate bought it from Cornelis Kok, but did not thereby come under the government of that captain, as it was understood that a transaction of this kind covered sovereignty as well as ownership. In 1848 Sir Harry Smith

obliterated Cornelis Kok's rule, but not his proprietorship, over the land still unsold, by proclaiming the whole country as far as the Vaal part of the Queen's dominions.

In the titles to farms issued by the Sovereignty and Free State governments, no reservation of minerals was made. The land in that part of South Africa was believed to be good for nothing but pasturage, and for that purpose only it had been occupied. Twenty pounds for a thousand acres would have been considered a fair price for it before the discovery of diamonds. It had cost the original proprietors the merest trifle, and a thousand pounds would have amply repaid them for all their improvements. But now, relying upon the omission of a reservation clause in the title-deeds, companies were formed and purchased the farms Dorstfontein, Bultfontein, and Vooruitzicht, which adjoin each other. The farmers were seriously frightened at what they saw going on before them, and were glad to sell for a few thousands each. The object of the new proprietors was to monopolise digging in the best places, and to charge heavy licenses from others.

The proprietors and the diggers speedily came into collision. The law was on the side of the proprietors, but the diggers claimed that justice and common sense were with them. Disturbances took place. Bultfontein was forcibly taken possession of, and claims were marked out up to the very door of the farmhouse. But this violent act was generally disapproved of, and, after a little persuasion, the diggers withdrew. They were desirous that the government should take over the land from the proprietors at a reasonable valuation, as is done in other countries when it is necessary to construct a railway through private grounds, or whenever the interests of the whole community demand it. They argued that the land had really been granted for grazing purposes only, and that the proprietors would suffer no injustice by the proposed arrangement. But the government saw difficulties in the way, and the proprietary companies shielded themselves behind their titles, which gave them

absolute and unqualified ownership of the ground and its contents.

At length, in May 1871, a provisional arrangement was made by the government, to have effect until the volksraad should come to a decision in the matter; and all parties expressed themselves ready to abide by it. It was to the effect that for each claim of nine hundred square feet (83·17 square metres) a monthly license of ten shillings should be paid. Of this, the government was to receive five shillings, the proprietors of the farms were to receive four shillings, and the diggers' committee was to receive one shilling. The committee of each camp was invested with ordinary municipal power.

On the 22nd of February 1871 the mission station of Pniel had been cut off from the district of Jacobsdal and created a district of itself. Its limits were now enlarged so as to embrace the dry diggings, and the landdrost Truter was removed from Pniel—where few diggers then remained—to Dutoitspan. A post office was established, and a body of police was enrolled.

In June the first diamond was discovered at the mine now known as Kimberley, on the Vooruitzicht farm. Prospecting was then being actively carried on, and this place had twice before been examined and abandoned.

It was not yet supposed that there were diamonds at any great depth beneath the surface, the prevailing opinion being that they had been transported by the agency of water from some unknown place of formation, and deposited where they were being found. The plan upon which all ground had hitherto been worked was in accordance with the view that only the surface soil was productive. No roadways were left when blocks of claims were marked out. Experience, however, was beginning to show that this system was faulty, for already many of the inner plots of ground at Dorstfontein, Bultfontein, and another mine called De Beer's, were not only difficult but dangerous to reach. It was therefore resolved to adopt another plan.

The Kimberley mine, when first laid out in claims, was a gentle swell above the general surface. It is hardly a mile or a kilometre and three-fifths from the rim of the great pan, on the northern slope of which the Dorstfontein and Bultfontein diggings are situated. Seven hundred claims or plots of ground, each containing a little more than eighty-three square metres, were marked off, and immediately taken possession of. But many of these were afterwards found to be beyond the reef, or caldron of rock which contained the diamond bearing soil, and were therefore of no value. Many even of those within the reef were soon found not to be worth working, and less than seven acres is the actual area of that portion which has yielded so amazingly as to reduce the price of diamonds throughout the world to a mere fraction of their former value. Twelve roadways, each fifteen feet (4.56 metres) in width, were left across the mine by a regulation which required each claimholder to reserve one-fourth of his plot for that purpose. Between these roads great trenches were opened, the ground taken out being conveyed beyond the reef and there sifted and carefully sorted.

Hills of sifted earth, rivalling in size the natural elevations of the country, rapidly rose around the mine now fast changing its form to that of a crater. These hills, the roads, and the trenches swarmed with human beings. In that little spot thirty thousand men, white and black, were working at once. The reports of the enormous quantities of diamonds found attracted strangers from all parts of the civilised world. Blacks from every tribe in South Africa congregated there too, allured by the prospect of obtaining guns and ammunition with the very high wages offered. The river diggings were almost deserted. Men who by mere chance secured rich claims for nothing, when they were first allotted, could now readily obtain a thousand pounds for half their ground.

A great camp of canvas tents of all sizes and shapes covered the ground on one side of the mine. Streets and

squares were shortly laid out, and soon iron buildings rose along them. Churches and schools, banks and newspaper offices, concert rooms and theatres, stores and shops, diamond buyers' offices, hotels, canteens, and gambling houses were all to be seen before the close of the year. Along the streets passed an incessant stream of waggons, carts, carriages, and pedestrians. Similar, but on a smaller scale, were the camps at Dutoitspan, Bultfontein, and De Beer's. The whole four mines were within a circle having a radius of only three kilometres, or less than two miles.

Life at the dry-digging camps, in their early days, was full of excitement, but far from pleasant. Water was scarce and bad. The best was brought in casks from a farm eight or nine kilometres away. When, at length, it was obtained by sinking wells, much of it was found to contain lime in solution, and to increase rather than quench thirst. It was only after a great many wells had been sunk, and a selection could be made, that this discomfort was got rid of. For a long time the camps were in a filthy state, and during calms the air was offensive. The dust storms were terrific. Violent gusts of hot wind caught up the sifted ground and loose materials of every kind, and whirled them about until the atmosphere was darkened and breathing was difficult. A discomfort scarcely less than any of these was the amazing abundance of insect life. The bad water, the filth, the dust storms, and the vermin brought on sickness, which, during midsummer, prevailed to an alarming extent; but the death rate was not very high.

On the 2nd of June an ordinance for regulating the government of the diamond-fields was passed by the volksraad. In effect it did little more than confirm the provisional arrangement made by the executive authority on the 15th of May, and which met with the approval of the diggers and the proprietors of the farms. The ninth clause provided for the establishment of a committee of management in each camp, to consist of six members elected by the diggers, with the government inspector as chairman. The tenth clause

gave to the committees of management power to frame such regulations as might be found necessary for the local circumstances and social management of the diggings, subject only to the approval of the executive council.

Under this system of government, good order was maintained. Class legislation to a limited extent prevailed. Blacks were not allowed to roam about the camps after nine o'clock at night, canteen-keepers were prohibited from selling intoxicating liquor to them unless with the written permission of their employers, and they were not permitted to buy or sell diamonds. But these regulations were carried out in such a manner as not to oppress any one unnecessarily. Blacks were never disturbed when walking quietly along the streets, even after nine o'clock, and those who wore clothing and presented a respectable appearance were not prevented from digging for themselves.

The Free State, however, was not permitted to establish the machinery of government on the diamond-fields without opposition. On the 15th of September 1870, Lieutenant-General Hay, who was then her Majesty's high commissioner in South Africa, wrote to President Brand that he had noticed in a newspaper the proclamation concerning the Campbell district, adding that he was in communication with Nicholas Waterboer, who claimed territory on both sides of the Vaal, and that he was desirous of obtaining information concerning the Free State title. He concluded by intimating that the planting of beacons to mark the Campbell district would be premature.

Four days later General Hay wrote further that he had seen a notice of the appointment of Mr. O. J. Truter as commissioner at Pniel, in a portion of the country claimed by Waterboer, and that he did not acknowledge the sovereignty of the Free State over any subjects of her Majesty living within the limits of the territory in dispute. "The concourse of people at the diamond-fields, however, had received his close consideration," he said, "and with a view to prevent the commission of crime or outrage by any of her Majesty's

subjects therein, he had taken measures for the issuing of magistrates' commissions giving jurisdiction over such subjects, under the provisions of an Act of the Imperial Parliament, 26 and 27 Victoria, cap. 35,"—the Cape of Good Hope Punishment Bill in an amended form.

This was the commencement of a series of letters, some of very great length, which cannot be read now without a feeling of intense weariness of the subject. And all the time there were documents which, if brought to light, would have set the question at rest at once and for ever. But no one knew that they were in existence. The records of political occurrences in the government offices in Capetown had never been kept in such a manner that they could be easily referred to; most of them, indeed, at that time were tied up in packets and put away wherever room could be found for them. There was no archive office, and no one specially charged with the duty of registering and indexing papers of importance.* Each department kept its own records in its own way, and all were so cramped for space that documents a few years old were of necessity put on top shelves or in cellars or garrets. In a colony events succeed each other rapidly. Governors are changed every few years, and public officers are constantly being moved from one place or occupation to another. Under such circumstances, transactions, considered even at the time of their occurrence of very small importance, come to be entirely forgotten after fifteen or twenty years, except by the immediate actors.

And the district in which Kimberley is situated, with its railway station, and telegraph office, and streets lit by elec-

* In March 1879 the author of this history was appointed keeper of the archives of the Cape Colony, and was the first to hold the office. At that time there was no apartment in any of the public buildings that could be spared, excepting a small room in the surveyor-general's office. In that confined space a few hundred volumes and as many parcels of the oldest Dutch records had been packed by a commission which had examined and reported upon the state of the archives a short time previously. In 1884, upon the completion of the new parliament house, a section of the basement of that building was set apart for the safe keeping of the records.

tricity, was as little known before the discovery of diamonds as the heart of the Kalahari is to-day. Nobody cared to know anything of it, for it was not worth the trouble of reading or writing about. Mission reports occasionally contained statements concerning Nicholas Waterboer, and his name appeared in public documents yearly as the recipient of a pension at the expense of the Cape Colony, given in consideration of the good conduct of his father; but further than that he and his clan were hardly ever heard of.

Lieutenant-General Hay and President Brand entered upon this controversy like two lawyers conducting a case on opposite sides, each unaware of the existence of witnesses capable of giving direct and clear testimony, and each making the very utmost of circumstantial evidence of all kinds.

President Brand's arguments might be reduced to this: The Campbell district and the district in which the diamond-fields east of the Vaal were situated were distinct from each other. The latter was part of the Free State, on account of having been in the undisturbed possession and occupation of its burghers for twenty years by virtue of British land certificates issued before the abandonment of the Sovereignty by her Majesty's government in 1854. In this district persons coming to push their fortunes by diamond-digging were certainly subject to the jurisdiction of the courts of the Free State. He therefore protested against the appointment by the high commissioner of special magistrates to exercise authority therein, as a violation of the convention of 1854. The boundary of Waterboer's district east of the Vaal was the Vetberg line, and no other could be recognised. Interference between the Free State and a clan such as that of Waterboer was a violation of the convention, and tended to paralyse the government, which had no wish or intention to do wrong to a single individual, but was desirous of maintaining its own rights.

Lieutenant-General Hay, on the other hand, could see no distinction between the Campbell district and the land

east of the Vaal. The Vetberg line, upon which so much stress was laid by the president, was not a boundary originally made between Waterboer and the Free State, but between Waterboer and Cornelis Kok, therefore the Free State by claiming that line admitted the ground above it to have been Cornelis Kok's. But the pretensions of the republic to Cornelis Kok's ground were derived solely from a sale by the agent of Cornelis Kok's alleged heir, and if that did not cover the territory on both sides of the river, the republic appeared to have not even the shadow of a right to the eastern bank. Waterboer asserted that Cornelis Kok had been his subordinate officer, and denied that captain's right to sell land. He also denied that he had been a party to the making of the Vetberg line, and ignored it altogether. He produced a treaty between his father and Adam Kok, in which his father's eastern boundary was defined as a line from Ramah by the way of David's Graf to Platberg. It was thus clear that his father had once been in possession of the whole territory west of that line, and there was nothing to show that either his father or himself had ever consented to part with any portion of it. The titles to land in the district east of the Vaal, the high commissioner believed must have been issued by Major Warden in error. Waterboer asserted that Major Warden had admitted as much. And lastly, if Sir Harry Smith had included the territory in question in the Sovereignty, it had reverted to its original owner upon the withdrawal of her Majesty's government.

In all the controversy, there is not one word on either side concerning the broad distinction between proprietorship and dominion which Sir Harry Smith had made, and upon which the right of the Free State really rested. The high commissioner confused the three farms given out by Major Warden on Waterboer's side of the original Vetberg line with ten times that number given out in the district farther north, and a vast deal of time and paper was taken to try to put him right; but it was not shown that the site of

Bloemfontein itself was held by the Free State on exactly the same tenure as those farms, for it had once been ground recognised as the property of Adam Kok, and sovereignty over the district in which it was situated had been acquired in just the same way as in the other case. The want of a clue, such as could be supplied by documents forgotten since Sir George Clerk left South Africa, is apparent everywhere throughout the controversy.

As a statement of their case, made and repeated in every possible form in writing, had no impression upon the high commissioner, the volksraad instructed President Brand and Mr. C. W. Hutton to proceed to Capetown and endeavour to explain matters by word of mouth. The delegates reached Capetown on the 29th of December 1870; but General Hay declined to grant them an official interview, on the ground that Sir Henry Barkly, who was hourly expected, would have to settle the matter finally, and it was therefore better to wait for him. On the 3rd of January 1871 Messrs. Brand and Hutton had a meeting with the new high commissioner, but naturally could make no impression upon him, as he had not yet been able to study the subject except from such papers as had been printed.

The correspondence between Lieutenant-General Hay and President Brand was conducted in temperate language; but some of the despatches sent by the former to England occasioned great irritation in South Africa when they were published in bluebooks. There are certainly expressions in them which were not justified by facts, as, for instance, the following, which is taken from a despatch addressed to Lord Kimberley, secretary of state for the colonies, on the 19th of November 1870:

"The governments of the two neighbouring republican states—the Orange Free State and the South African Republic—have, since the discovery (of diamonds) referred to, assumed an attitude towards the Griqua people and other aboriginal inhabitants which plainly indicates an intention of seizing upon and appropriating between them, without sufficient or justifiable cause, nearly the whole of the Griqua and adjacent other native territory, and of ejecting therefrom the native population by whom it is now, and for a long series of years has been, occupied."

CHAPTER LXXVIII.

EVENTS IN THE ORANGE FREE STATE DURING 1871.

IN 1870 and the early months of 1871 there was an opportunity for a statesman in British South Africa to bind together the diverse elements of society, and with little difficulty to extend the influence of England in the interior. The republics had not yet recovered from the state of exhaustion caused by the wars in which they had been involved, and would have been only too glad to enter into any fair arrangement to secure to Great Britain, through the Cape Colony, every advantage that could be desired, provided only they were treated with courtesy and justice. No one of any note in either state refused to admit that the discovery of diamonds in vast numbers must produce a change of some kind in the country, and that England, as the power of greatest weight and importance, was entitled to a corresponding share in the settlement of the new interests that had arisen. There can be no doubt that under the circumstances then existing past errors could have been consigned to oblivion and an era of harmony have been entered upon. There was an opportunity for a statesman, but the man was not at hand to take advantage of it.

Sir Henry Barkly, on his arrival in South Africa—31st of December 1870,—found President Brand and Mr. C. W. Hutton waiting in Capetown to explain matters from their standpoint. The Free State delegates had learned that the principal officers of the colonial government were disposed to act as advocates of Nicholas Waterboer, and Mr. Hutton declared afterwards in the volksraad that he would not have remained twenty-four hours if the president, who was

earnestly desirous of an amicable settlement, had not persuaded him to stay. On the 3rd of January 1871 an interview of three hours' duration took place with the high commissioner. Sir Henry Barkly spoke of Waterboer's claim to the district in which the diamond-fields were situated as if it rested on a firm basis, and proposed that the Free State should submit the dispute to arbitration. The delegates maintained that the Free State could not refer to arbitration the question of its right to a portion of the territory transferred to it by the British authorities in 1854, in which no Griquas were living, and over which Waterboer had never exercised jurisdiction. As for the Campbell district, the condition was different, and they did not object to submit the question of its ownership to the decision of a foreign court; but after Waterboer's offer to cede his territory to the British government, the high commissioner could not be regarded as an impartial and disinterested person to act as umpire.

The delegates remained some weeks in Capetown, though from the first even President Brand saw little chance of success. The high commissioner kept them occupied in explaining in writing the pettiest details of transfers of farms, in verifying paltry documents, and such-like matters, wasting time to no purpose.

At the beginning of February Mr. Campbell—the special magistrate at Klipdrift—began to feel his way towards asserting authority on the Free State side of the river. On the 1st of the month he issued a notice cautioning all persons against purchasing or alienating land at either Klipdrift or Pniel, and on the 8th he warned the committee of management of a new camp at a place called Cawood's Hope, on the left bank of the Vaal, not to pay license fees to any one but himself. On the 8th also, he called for tenders for the hire of strong rooms to be used as a lock-up and a prison at Pniel, and for the supply of maize or millet for the use of a hundred mounted policemen on either side of the river.

These notices called forth remonstrances from the Free State government, but the high commissioner supported Mr. Campbell. In a letter to President Brand, dated on the 28th of February 1871, he stated that "as long as the boundaries between the Orange Free State and the chief Waterboer remained in dispute, all acts performed under the authority and with the consent of the latter, within the limits mentioned by Lieutenant-General Hay, were, in the opinion of her Majesty's government, of greater force and validity than those of the representatives of the Orange Free State."

After his visit to the diamond-fields at the end of February and the beginning of March 1871, Sir Henry Barkly touched at Bloemfontein on his way to the Lesuto. There he endeavoured to induce President Brand to follow the example of President Pretorius, and submit to the decision of arbitrators the right of the state to all the ground claimed by Mr. Arnot for Waterboer, and further to agree to the exclusive jurisdiction of British special magistrates over British subjects within the territory in dispute until the decision of the arbitrators should be made known. But to this the president and the executive council would in no wise consent. In the territory east of the Vaal claimed in the name of Waterboer, they observed, there were at least one hundred and forty occupied farms, a considerable number of which were held under titles issued by the Sovereignty government. They could not suspend their right of jurisdiction over any individuals there, and in case any one else should attempt to exercise authority they would be compelled to adopt measures of resistance. But as regarded the Campbell district, they were willing to submit their right to it to the decision of either the president of the United States of America or the king of Holland, or they would dispose of their title on fair terms either to the imperial or Cape colonial government, or they were prepared to exchange it for the district of Albania. Sir Henry Barkly would accept none of these proposals.

In the mean time the practical government of the diamond-fields was made almost impossible by the action of the high commissioner and the special magistrate. Under the plea that obtaining licenses from officers of the Free State would be recognising one party in the dispute, British subjects were called upon to pay taxes of all kinds to the special magistrate only, and were promised protection against the enforcement of demands by any person else. A few individuals then set the Free State authorities at defiance, upon which the president called out a commando to support the courts of law.

The high commissioner chose to regard this proceeding as a menace to the British government. On the 20th of March he wrote to the president that his "fixed determination was to repel force by force, and to protect her Majesty's subjects by every means in his power from all interference by the Free State authorities, whilst pursuing their lawful calling in the territory claimed by the chief Waterboer, as long as the question of title to the territory was not disposed of by competent authority." Under the act of the Cape parliament No. 3 of 1855, the governor was empowered to employ the frontier armed and mounted police within or without the colonial boundary as to him should seem meet. Since its enrolment it had frequently been stationed beyond the border, and at this time a detachment under Inspector Jackson was at the diggings north of the Vaal. In April the whole available force was concentrated at Hopetown, and a troop under Commandant Bowker moved on to Klipdrift to support the special magistrate.

Just before this the volksraad met in special session at Bloemfontein, for the purpose of discussing the perilous condition of the country. The members repudiated the assumption of the high commissioner that the Free State was actuated by any other than the most friendly feelings towards the British government, at the same time they deprecated the treatment the republic was receiving at the hands of Sir Henry Barkly, and declined emphatically to

submit their rights to a court of arbitration of which any of the judges should be nominated directly or indirectly by him. They felt, however, that they were under a necessity of making some proposal to show that they were only desirous of defending their own possessions, and therefore they expressed themselves ready to submit to foreign arbitration their right to the land in which the dry diggings were situated. On the 5th of April they adopted a resolution "to propose to his Excellency that the head of an independent foreign power be requested to give the desired decision as arbitrator, and to propose to the choice of the British government his Majesty the emperor of Germany, or his Majesty the king of the Netherlands, or the president of the United States of America, and that pending the said decision the jurisdiction of the Orange Free State over the disputed ground should be maintained and continue to be exercised as had hitherto been the case."

When this was communicated to the high commissioner, he replied that he was precluded from discussing the question further until the armed force of the Free State was recalled. The volksraad then resolved that the commando should be withdrawn, protesting at the same time that there never was any intention to oppose the British authorities, the object being to support the courts of law against resistance made in the name of the captain Nicholas Waterboer. Upon this the high commissioner renewed his proposal of local arbitration with concurrent jurisdiction until the result should be known, which the Free State government again declined. The phraseology which he used irritated the members of the volksraad exceedingly, for he wrote of the diamond-fields as being in that part of Waterboer's territory claimed by the Free State. Shortly afterwards Lord Kimberley announced that the reference of South African disputes to the head of a foreign country could not be agreed to by Great Britain, so that the confidence entertained in the republic of arriving at a settlement in this manner came to an end.

The imperial government must be held responsible for the acts of its agents, more especially when it formally approves of those acts; but it should be remembered at the same time that the secretary of state derives his information upon such subjects as the ownership of a plot of ground in the middle of a South African desert entirely from men situated as were Sir Henry Barkly and Lieutenant-General Hay. Whether these high officers in their turn were grossly misinformed, or not, may be left undiscussed; beyond dispute, their despatches were misleading. The distortion of events in some of them would be perfectly ludicrous if the consequences had not been so serious. As an instance, a proclamation was published by one Jacob Makantsi, a counsellor of the Barolong chief Moroko, and Theodor Doms and Roderick Barker, styling themselves diplomatic agent and commander-in-chief of the Batlapin and Barolong tribes, declaring war against the South African Republic. This was considered by some of the diggers a capital joke, and Doms was loudly cheered when he mounted on a cart and began to make a speech. The whole proceeding was a piece of buffoonery, and was so regarded by every sensible person who witnessed it, as may be seen from the accounts in the newspapers. Yet the high commissioner represented it to the secretary of state as a serious matter, and the special magistrate was credited with having prevented an attack upon the republic by his influence with the British subjects at the fields.

With information so incorrect as that supplied to him, Earl Kimberley caused despatches to be written which greatly increased the irritation existing in the Free State. In one of these despatches, dated on the 17th of November 1870, the secretary of state expressed his views as follows:

“Her Majesty’s government would see with great dissatisfaction any encroachment on the Griqua territory by those republics, which would open to the Boërs an extended field for their slave-dealing operations, and probably lead to much oppression of the natives and disturbance of peace. . . . I should wish you to discourage, by all practicable means

short of the application of force, any combination of the Dutch Boers and English immigrants for the purpose of expelling or overpowering the native occupants of the lands, whether Griquas or other tribes."

While using language such as this, which showed his absolute ignorance of the real condition of the country and its people, Earl Kimberley professed that he entertained the most friendly feelings towards the republics. He was averse to the extension of the British dominions in South Africa, if extension implied increased responsibility or cost. On the 24th of January 1871 he instructed Sir Henry Barkly "not to be a party to the annexation of any territory which the Cape Colony would be unable to govern and defend by its own unaided resources." The Free State government had sent to the secretary of state for foreign affairs a protest against the appointment of British magistrates to exercise jurisdiction within its territory. The secretary of state for foreign affairs had referred the protest to the secretary of state for the colonies, and the secretary for the colonies left the matter to the high commissioner's judgment, with no other reservation than the above.

On the 8th of March Sir Henry Barkly replied that "it appeared to him that the British government had already gone too far to admit of its ceasing to support the cause of either Waterboer or the diggers."

Earl Kimberley then gave the high commissioner power to annex Waterboer's territory, which he believed contained the diamond-fields, because he had been so informed. But the power so given was only to be used under certain conditions, which, if they were observed, would prevent a wrong being done. The authority was conveyed in a despatch dated on the 18th of May 1871, and containing a commission of her Majesty, issued on the preceding day. These documents were thus worded:

"It is not without reluctance that Her Majesty's government consent to extend the British territory in South Africa, but on a full consideration of all the circumstances, the presence of so large a number of British subjects on the diamond-fields, the probability that this number

will rapidly increase, the danger of serious disturbances on the northern frontier of the Cape Colony if a regular authority is not established without delay in Waterboer's country, and the strong desire expressed both by Waterboer and the new settlers that the territory in question should be brought under British rule, they have come to the conclusion that they ought to advise Her Majesty to accept the cession offered by Waterboer, if the Cape parliament will formally bind itself to the conditions which you have indicated, namely, that the colony will undertake the responsibility of governing the territory which is to be united to it, together with the entire maintenance of any force which may be necessary for the preservation of order and the defence of the new border, such force not to consist of British troops, but to be a force raised and supported by the colony."

"Victoria, by the grace of God, &c. Whereas divers of our subjects have settled in districts north of the Orange river in South Africa, and alleged to belong to certain native chiefs and tribes; and whereas it is expedient, with the consent of such chiefs and tribes, and of the legislature of our colony of the Cape of Good Hope, to make provision for the government of certain of such districts as part of our said colony: now we do by this our commission under our sign manual and signet authorise you the said Sir Henry Barkly by proclamation under your hand and the public seal of our said colony to declare that, after a day to be therein mentioned, so much of such districts as to you, after due consideration, shall seem fit, shall be annexed to and form part of our dominions and of our said colony; and we do hereby constitute and appoint you to be thereupon governor of the same, provided that you issue no such proclamation unless you have first ascertained that the native chiefs and tribes claiming the district so to be annexed are really entitled thereto and consent to such annexation, nor until the legislature of our said colony shall have provided by law that the same shall, on the day aforesaid, become part of our said colony and subject to the laws in force therein."

His power to act being thus conditional, the high commissioner applied to the Cape parliament for the authority needed. At that time the ministers were not dependent upon a majority in parliament, but held their offices by direct appointment of the secretary of state, and carried out whatever instructions the governor gave. They had the right of proposing measures and of debating in both chambers, but had no votes. The possession of the diamond-fields by any state or colony was regarded everywhere in the country as a great prize, and the governor believed that the Cape legislature would be eager to secure it. Before

causing an annexation bill to be drafted, however, he desired to obtain an expression of opinion to serve as a guide when framing it, and therefore, on the 11th of July 1871 the colonial secretary moved in the house of assembly that the house should go into committee to consider the following proposition:

“That in the opinion of this committee it is desirable and needful, as well for the interests of this colony as with a view to the maintenance of peace and order on our borders, that the territory commonly designated the diamond-fields, partly belonging to the Griquas of West Griqualand under the government of Captain Nicholas Waterboer, and partly to other native chiefs and people living in the vicinity of the said Griquas, should, in accordance with the desire expressed by the large number of British subjects now located there, and with the sanction of Her Majesty the Queen and the consent of the said Griquas and other natives, be annexed to this colony. And this committee is further of opinion that if measures having for their object the annexation of the territories aforesaid and the good government of the people resident therein are introduced into the house of assembly by his Excellency the governor, it is expedient that the house should give the most favourable attention thereto, and should do what in it lies to make proper provision for the government and defence of the said territory, and for meeting the expenditure that may be occasioned thereby.”

Mr. King seconded the colonial secretary's proposal. Mr. J. C. Molteno—subsequently first prime minister of the colony under responsible government—moved as an amendment:

“That considering the questions now before the parliament affecting the future constitution of this colony, and of the adoption of the principle of a federal with provincial governments, now before a commission for the purpose of inquiry and report, and also of the existence of questions affecting territorial rights of the Orange Free State and native tribes contiguous to the diamond-fields, still unsettled, this house is of opinion that it cannot at present entertain the question of the annexation of the territories commonly designated the diamond-fields to this colony.”

The amendment was seconded by Mr. Watermeyer, but upon being put to the vote, was lost, the division showing twenty-five for it and twenty-seven against. In consequence, on the 19th of July the house of assembly considered the question in committee. The colonial secretary

then moved his proposition as above, Mr. Molteno moved his amendment, and four other amendments were proposed, of which two were withdrawn after discussion and the two following were submitted to the vote:

1. By Mr. Porter, to add to Mr. Molteno's proposition,

"At the same time this committee, sensible of the evils likely to result to the large and still increasing population congregated on the diamond-fields, as well as to the people of this colony and those of the Free State, from leaving unsettled the dispute respecting the ownership of the main portion of the lands in question, desires to record its conviction that this dispute can be, and ought to be, decided justly and speedily, and without any considerable expense, by arbitrators to be found within the limits of South Africa. And this committee further considers that such a number of the armed and mounted police as the governor may deem necessary may, pending the settlement of the existing dispute, and without prejudice to the rights of any of the parties to it, be employed in preserving order amongst the diggers, of whom so great a proportion are Cape colonists."

2. By Mr. C. A. Smith, to alter the colonial secretary's proposition, so that it should read as follows:

"That in the opinion of this committee it is desirable and needful, as well for the interests of this colony as with a view to the maintenance of peace and order on our borders, that such part of the territories commonly designated the diamond-fields as belongs to the Griquas of West Griqualand under the government of Captain Nicholas Waterboer, or to other native chiefs and people living in the vicinity of the said Griquas, should, in accordance with the desire expressed by the large number of British subjects now located there, and with the sanction of Her Majesty the Queen and the consent of the said Griquas and other natives, be annexed to this colony. And this committee is further of opinion that if measures having for their object the annexation of the territories aforesaid and the good government of the people resident therein are introduced into the house of assembly by his Excellency the governor, it is expedient that the house should give the most favourable attention thereto, and should do what in it lies to make proper provision for the government and defence of the said territory, and for meeting the expenditure that may be occasioned thereby."

In the discussion that took place there was a general agreement that the acquisition of the diamond-fields would be of great advantage to the colony, that whatever territory

really belonged to Nicholas Waterboer ought to be annexed, and that no ground which of right was part of the Free State should be taken. But there were various views as to the method of determining Waterboer's true boundary. When the different propositions were put to the vote, Mr. Porter's was lost by thirty-five to sixteen, Mr. Molteno's was lost by twenty-eight to twenty-three, and Mr. Smith's was carried without a division, thus making it unnecessary to submit the colonial secretary's.

On the 20th of July Mr. Smith's proposition, having thus become the resolution of the committee, was brought before the house, when a strong feeling was exhibited by many members not to interfere at all in the matter until the dispute with the Free State was settled. Even most of those who were in favour of immediate action were careful to state that in their opinion the bill to be brought in should provide against annexing any land that was not Waterboer's. And, modified as the resolution was, it was only carried by twenty-seven votes against twenty-six. It was then communicated to the governor by the speaker, and on the 24th was sent for consideration to the legislative council. In that chamber it was carried in committee on the 28th by thirteen votes to six, but when it came on for reading, Mr. De Roubaix moved as an amendment:

"That in the opinion of this council it is desirable that the diamond-fields should be annexed to this colony, but that such annexation should not be carried out until the question of disputed territory should have been finally settled."

This amendment was only lost, and the resolution carried, by ten votes to nine. The governor, finding that notwithstanding all the influence and power of the ministers his plans were adopted by such narrow divisions, then abandoned the design of bringing in an annexation bill during that session. Instead of this, on the 5th of August, shortly before the prorogation of parliament, the colonial secretary moved a proposition in the house of assembly:

"That pending the adjustment of the boundary dispute and the passing of a law for the annexation of the diamond-fields to this

colony, this committee is of opinion that the governor should be requested to adopt such measures as may appear to him to be necessary and practicable for the maintenance of order among the diggers and other inhabitants of that territory, as well as for the collection of revenue and the administration of justice."

The colonial secretary assured the house that it was not the intention of the government to take one inch of territory from the Free State, and with this assurance the proposition was adopted without a division. Two days later it was sent to the legislative council, and with the same understanding was assented to by that chamber.

On the 15th of August the high commissioner forwarded the resolutions of the two houses of parliament to the secretary of state, feeling confident, he observed, that Earl Kimberley would regard the second as a substantial compliance with the requirements of the imperial government, and would sanction and approve such steps as he might take for carrying it into effect. "It struck him," he said, "as out of the question any longer to uphold the fiction of acting in Waterboer's name in the maintenance of order by the Cape mounted police, the collection of revenue from British subjects, and the administration of justice by British magistrates." The secretary of state replied on the 2nd of October that the resolutions did not in themselves amount to a formal compliance with the conditions laid down in his despatch of the 18th of May, but her Majesty's government relied entirely on the judgment and discretion of the high commissioner.

During this time the correspondence had not ceased between Sir Henry Barkly and President Brand. On the 18th of July the high commissioner informed the president "that he held a commission under the royal sign manual, authorising him to accept the cession of territory offered by Captain Waterboer and to annex the same to the colony with such boundaries as he might see fit to proclaim; but that he felt extremely reluctant irrevocably to fix the boundaries in direct opposition to the claims set up by the Orange Free

State, so long as the slightest chance existed of an amicable adjustment either by means of arbitration or otherwise." No solution of the difficulty was suggested, however, until the 3rd of October, when the president wrote, notifying that Advocate H. A. L. Hamelberg had been appointed plenipotentiary and diplomatic agent of the Orange Free State in England, and would bring the question of the true import of the second article of the convention of 1854 under the notice of her Majesty's government. He offered to propose to the volksraad to submit all other matters in dispute to the arbitration of a board of six members, three to be chosen by the authorities of the Orange Free State and three by the high commissioner, with any of the heads of foreign governments previously mentioned as final umpire in case the board could not agree upon a decision. This proposal was rejected by the high commissioner, who announced that after annexation he would consent to arbitration by a purely local court, but a foreign umpire was not admissible.

Mr. Hamelberg, upon reaching London, was referred by the secretary of state for foreign affairs to the secretary of state for the colonies. The latter declined to receive him in a diplomatic character, but granted him a personal interview, which led to nothing. He was informed that the rule would be adhered to that the governor of the Cape Colony should be the regular channel of communication between her Majesty's government and the Orange Free State.

On the 17th of October the Keate award was published. The Free State was not concerned in it, but it gave Nicholas Waterboer the north-eastern boundary which Mr. Arnot claimed for him, and one extremity of that boundary was Platberg on the Vaal. Ten days later—27th of October 1871—Sir Henry Barkly issued a series of proclamations, declaring the territory of Nicholas Waterboer part of the British dominions, making the laws of the Cape Colony applicable therein as far as circumstances would permit, establishing a high court of justice, making regulations for

diamond digging, confirming the holders of land in their possession of it, and dividing the territory into the three magisterial districts of Klipdrift, Pniel, and Griquatown. The boundaries of the territory were laid down as, on the south the Orange river from Kheis to Ramah, on the east a line from Ramah to David's Graf and thence to the summit of Platberg, on the north-east a line from the summit of Platberg to a point north of Boetsap; further, various points in the desert round to Kheis.

The following officers were appointed: Advocate J. D. Barry to be recorder of the high court, Attorney J. C. Thompson to be public prosecutor, Mr. Arthur Tweed to be registrar and master, Mr. P. L. Buyskes to be sheriff, Mr. J. Campbell to be civil commissioner and resident magistrate of the district of Klipdrift, Mr. Francis Orpen to be civil commissioner and resident magistrate of the district of Griquatown, and Messrs. J. Campbell, J. C. Thompson, and J. H. Bowker to be an executive committee to see that the instructions of the high commissioner were carried out. A magistrate was not appointed to the district of Pniel, in which the dry diggings were situated, as it was hoped that Landdrost Truter, who was very popular with the diggers, would consent to continue his duties under the British government.

In communicating these proceedings to the secretary of state by the next outgoing mail, Sir Henry Barkly wrote:

"I intimated to Mr. Brand that I was about to proclaim Griqualand West British territory, with the boundary in question, and requested him to give directions to the officials of the Free State in the disputed territory to withdraw in time, so as to avoid all risk of collision with the British authorities about to be stationed there. . . . I am confident that the enthusiasm with which the announcement of the extension of her Majesty's sovereignty will be hailed by the great majority of the diggers will suffice to render all attempts at opposition fruitless, whilst the difficulties in which the Free State government have latterly found themselves involved in their dealings with that class of the community will probably dispose them to rest content with a protest against this mode of ejectment from a territory they have so unscrupulously usurped."

The whole territory annexed to the British dominions received the name of Griqualand West. It was about seventeen thousand eight hundred square miles or forty-five thousand six hundred square kilometres in extent. That part of it comprised between the Vaal river, the Vetberg line, and the line from Ramah to Platberg, over which the Free State courts had exercised jurisdiction, and which, according to Sir Henry Barkly, the Free State government had "so unscrupulously usurped," contained between one hundred and forty and one hundred and fifty occupied farms. Over two hundred thousand acres of ground in it were held under British titles, granted during the Sovereignty period. It contained also the whole of the reserves along the Vaal set apart by the Sovereignty government for the use of the people of Jan Bloem, Scheel Kobus, David Danser, and Goliath Yzerbek, none of whom was ever dependent in any way upon Nicholas Waterboer or his father. It contained the Berlin station of Pniel, occupied by the Cats clan of Koranas, of which the reverend C. F. Wuras—who was then the resident missionary of Bethany and superintendent of the Berlin missions—testified that he had purchased the ground from Cornelis Kok, and had never heard of Waterboer's pretensions until recently; but that the mission had always enjoyed peace, and justice, and protection under the Free State government. No Griquas were living within it. About a thousand Europeans young and old were residing on the farms, not one of whom knew anything more of Nicholas Waterboer than that he was a petty captain, with a following of five or six hundred souls all told, occupying a district on the other side of the river.

On the 4th of November a small party of the Cape frontier armed and mounted police took possession of the dry diggings, and hoisted the British flag. Instead of the enthusiasm with which Sir Henry Barkly anticipated this act would be received, the great majority of the diggers kept very quiet. There was no uproar, and on the other side no symptom of satisfaction shown except by a small

party of blacks and a few white men not of the refined class, who followed the procession and cheered when the proclamations were read at the different camps. The dissatisfaction of the Free State people and those colonists who sympathised with them was not publicly exhibited, and perhaps the strongest expressions of disapproval were those of Englishmen with a keen sense of honour, who were indignant at the act that was being performed in England's name. A protest was drawn up by Landdrost Truter, and handed to Inspector Gilfillan, who commanded the police. Much has since been written of this event, but no disinterested person, Englishman or foreigner, who has examined the subject, has ever attempted to justify it except on the plea that it was necessary for the predominant power in South Africa to be in possession of the diamond-fields.

On the 7th President Brand published a formal protest, and indicated the course that his government would pursue, as follows.

"Whereas I am desirous of preventing any collision between the governments and people of the Cape Colony and this state, who are allied to each other by the strongest ties of blood and friendship: therefore I hereby order and enjoin all officers, burghers, and residents of this state to guard against any action which might lead to such collision, in the fullest confidence that the information and explanations which will be given to Her Britannic Majesty's government in England by our plenipotentiary will secure the acknowledgment and recognition of our just rights."

As Landdrost Truter showed no inclination to transfer his allegiance, Inspector Gilfillan was appointed to act as resident magistrate and civil commissioner at the dry diggings. He assumed duty on the 16th of November, and on the same day Messrs. Campbell and Thompson, on behalf of Sir Henry Barkly, gave Mr. Truter notice that they would prevent the continuation of magisterial and other duties by him. A prisoner charged with theft, who was in custody of the Free State police, was that afternoon rescued by the police under Mr. Gilfillan's orders. In accordance with President Brand's

instructions, the landdrost then sent in another protest, and on the 18th he retired to Bloemfontein.

These acts were all approved and confirmed by the secretary of state in her Majesty's name, on the 8th of December, on which day a commission was issued appointing Sir Henry Barkly governor of Griqualand West. Indeed, Earl Kimberley may almost be said to have directly authorised them, as on the 24th of July he had written to the high commissioner:

"If, as I trust will be the case before this despatch reaches you, Waterboer's territory has been annexed to the Cape Colony with the consent of the colonial parliament, you will renew your offer to the Orange Free State of arbitration by a commission similar to that agreed to by the Transvaal State, assuring President Brand that whilst her Majesty's government have thought it their duty to accept Waterboer's proffer of allegiance in order to prevent the disorders which must result from the prolonged absence of a settled government at the diamond diggings, they desire that the question of limits should be determined with due regard to the claims of the Free State."

On the 4th of December the volksraad met in special session to consider what should be done. A very large proportion of the burghers were disposed to take up arms, even though defeat was certain, in order to draw the attention of European powers to what was taking place. The president, who was doing all he possibly could to pacify the people, opened the session with an address in which he said:

"I have, with the advice of the executive council, considered the mode of protest as the way in which it behoves us to act, in the full reliance that our good right will be ultimately acknowledged and respected by her Britannic Majesty's government. I cherish this confidence because I am convinced that the government of England will do no injustice to the Orange Free State, but that the difficulties in which we are now involved and the vexatious proceedings towards this state are solely to be ascribed to the erroneous impressions which the British government have received in regard to the Free State. And that erroneous opinions are really entertained in England regarding the government and population of the Orange Free State appears clearly from the published despatches of the secretary of state for the colonies to his Excellency the high commissioner and governor of the Cape Colony. Mention is therein made of infringements of the territory

of the natives in order to have wider scope for slave-dealing, and of the want of a regular government at the diamond-fields as a reason for adopting Captain Waterboer and his people as British subjects; whereas every one who is in the least degree acquainted with the Orange Free State is fully aware that nothing even remotely resembling slave-dealing exists there; that the territory above the Vetberg line was never inhabited by Waterboer and his people, but has been for a number of years under the government of this state; that all disputes and trials arising within that territory are decided by the law courts of this state and by the court of final appeal; and that after the large increase of population at the diamond-fields, the government of the state, by constituting Pniel a separate district and appointing a landdrost and other officers thereto, have striven to meet the requirements of the diggers as fully as possible.

“When these and other erroneous impressions, of which we are yet unaware, shall have been put in the proper light by our representative to her Majesty’s government, I fully expect that we shall be reinstated in the enjoyment of our violated rights, and that although this young state, with its population limited to thousands, cannot possibly cope in armed resistance with large and powerful England, with its population of millions, still the sense of justice and equity entertained by the government and people of Great Britain will lead to the restitution of our infringed rights.”

The volksraad remained in session until the 8th of December, the discussions being carried on during the greater part of the time with closed doors. During the open sittings not a single voice was raised in favour of such arbitration as the high commissioner desired, the opinion of every speaker being that it would prove a mere sham, as Sir Henry Barkly would certainly nominate men who would decide as he wished, and so remove from him the stigma of having seized the property of a weaker neighbour. The idea of all was an appeal to public opinion in Europe. Several of the members were in favour of considering the violation of their territory an act of war, and taking up arms as the best means of attracting notice. Action so rash was, however, overruled, and on the last day of the session it was agreed to publish a protest, and circulate it as widely as possible. This document was worded as follows:

“Whereas his Excellency Sir Henry Barkly, her Britannic Majesty’s high commissioner in South Africa and governor of the British colony

of the Cape of Good Hope, has by proclamation dated the 27th of October 1871 accepted Captain Nicholas Waterboer and his people as British subjects, and has proclaimed to be British territory a large tract of country to the south of Vaal River, for a long course of years governed by the Orange Free State and the property of and inhabited by Free State subjects; whereas thereby infringement is made on the territorial rights of the Orange Free State, and the treaty formerly concluded and subsequently acknowledged between her Britannic Majesty and the Orange Free State is thereby violated; whereas in said proclamation allegations are made as motives for this proceeding of her Britannic Majesty's high commissioner, which cannot be admitted by the Orange Free State as just and well-founded; and whereas in regard to the inhabitants of the Orange Free State and their conduct erroneous impressions exist, which might bring them as a people into contempt in the eyes of European nations:

“The volksraad of the Orange Free State has resolved to be compelled to confirm, as it hereby does confirm, all the protests made up to this time by the state president of the Orange Free State against the said proclamation and the proceedings of the high commissioner; and solemnly and formally to protest, as it hereby does protest, and must ever persist in protesting, against the proclamation above mentioned and the proceedings of his Excellency Sir Henry Barkly in regard to Captain Nicholas Waterboer and his people and the proclaimed territory, as being an infringement of the territorial rights of the Orange Free State, obtained from the predecessors of her Britannic Majesty's high commissioner similarly acting in the name of the Queen of England, and a violation of the convention concluded on the 23rd of February 1854 between her Britannic Majesty's government and the Orange Free State, which convention was on the 12th of February 1869 at Aliwal North acknowledged by Sir Philip Wodehouse, her Britannic Majesty's high commissioner at that time.

“And the volksraad, considering that it thereby maintains the interests of the people which it represents, and upholds the dignity of the Orange Free State, has deemed it incumbent to publish to the world the reasons of its protest, with some grounds for the claims of the Free State people, and publicly to refute the accusations brought against it.

“The volksraad therefore communicates to the world that by proclamation of his Excellency Sir H. G. Smith, at that time her Majesty's high commissioner in South Africa, dated 3rd of February 1848, the sovereignty of her Britannic Majesty was established over the country situated between Orange River, Vaal River, and the Drakensberg; and by further proclamation of his Excellency Sir H. G. Smith that proclaimed territory was divided into four magistracies, viz., Griqualand, with Bloemfontein as its seat of government, Winburg, with Winburg as its seat of magistracy, Vaal River, with Vrededorp—now Harrismith—as its seat of magistracy, and Caledon River, with Smithfield as its seat

of magistracy. The supremacy of her Britannic Majesty was then established over all people, whether white or coloured, living within those limits. Of that proclaimed territory a chart was made, which must still be found in the archives of the British government, on which the said proclaimed territory was delineated as bounded by Vaal River, Orange River, and Drakensberg.

“In 1854 her Britannic Majesty withdrew said sovereignty over this country, and a plenipotentiary—Sir George Russell Clerk,—commissioned by her Majesty, addressed himself to the white inhabitants then dwelling in the territory, and urged it upon them to take over the government of that territory.

“Few in number, and surrounded by hostile and powerful coloured tribes, these white inhabitants were reluctant to take its government upon themselves; but constrained by her Britannic Majesty’s plenipotentiary, and hearing that no choice was left them, inasmuch as the abandonment of the country was determined on, they accepted the government of this territory.

“On the 23rd of February 1854 a convention was concluded between the said plenipotentiary of her Britannic Majesty and the delegates of the white population of this territory, in which convention, among other matters, the people of the Orange River Sovereignty—now Orange Free State—was declared to be a FREE AND INDEPENDENT PEOPLE, and was released from its British allegiance; and,—being surrounded by hostile and powerful coloured tribes, with which a collision must sooner or later inevitably take place, the white population having been invested against their will with the government of the country which her Britannic Majesty had so abandoned,—secured to itself, under the second article of the convention, the following advantages: *The British Government has no alliance whatever with any native chiefs or tribes to the northward of Orange River, with the exception of the Griqua chief, Captain Adam Kok; and her Majesty’s Government has no wish or intention to enter hereafter into any treaties which may be injurious or prejudicial to the interests of the Orange Free State government.* Besides this, a free import of ammunition from the Cape Colony was at the same time guaranteed. For, being wholly left to themselves, few in number, surrounded by powerful tribes which had been rendered their enemies by wars which the British government had waged against those tribes, and deprived for the time to come of the strong hand of England which had up to that time protected them, that small people were under the necessity of at least stipulating that the powerful hand of England should not be lifted up to their detriment on behalf of those hostile coloured tribes. Without the guarantee secured by the second article of the convention, the taking over of the government was an impossibility.

‘Between the years 1848 and 1854 her Britannic Majesty’s representatives in this territory issued many titles to land, and also established the magistracy of Griqualand, of which Bloemfontein was at first the

capital, but of which a portion, with Sannah's Poort or Fauresmith for its capital, was subsequently formed into a separate district. Whence it also arose that on the taking over of the government, delegates from Bloemfontein, Winburg, Caledon River, Vaal River, and Sannah's Poort, as representatives of the whole white population of the country, took over the government. The government handed over to them extended over the country proclaimed in 1848 by his Excellency Sir H. G. Smith British territory,* by proclamation in 1854 discharged from British supremacy, and by the convention on the 23rd of February 1854 ceded to a people from that time forward FREE AND INDEPENDENT.

"The white population being thus, against their will, charged with the government of the country and the management of their own affairs, established a republic, and gave to this territory the title of Orange Free State. By the convention of 1854 the new government—later denominated the Orange Free State government—bound itself that the titles to property and land-rights granted by the British government should be guaranteed, and that the owners thereof should not be disturbed in their possession. Faithful to the obligation thus assumed, the Orange Free State protected those who had obtained such titles, and among others those to whom titles had been granted in that tract of country now proclaimed by his Excellency Sir Henry Barkly, as the property of Captain Nicholas Waterboer, to be British territory. Over this tract of country the Free State government has for a number of years exercised jurisdiction, the courts of the Free State have settled disputes between the inhabitants of those now proclaimed grounds, taxes have been levied, and all rights and obligations attached to sovereignty have been enjoyed and fulfilled.

"The titles for landed property granted by the British government between the years 1848 and 1854 in the tract of country recently proclaimed British territory are now alleged to have been granted only provisionally, or by mistake, although the Orange Free State bound itself to the maintenance of those very titles, and although those titles for land obtained from the British government have subsequently passed by sale and transfer into other hands, which transactions have been recorded in the land registers of the Free State.

"In 1865 the Free State—compelled by the reiterated violation of treaties, the neglect to fulfil solemn promises, the incessant robberies, and the presumptuous proceedings of the Basuto nation—girded on its sword, and declared war against that nation. In 1866 a peace was concluded with the Basuto nation, and a new treaty was signed whereby that nation

* This is an error, as the reserves for the use of the coloured residents were not transferred. The right of the Orange Free State to the territory between the Vaal river, the Vetberg line, and the line from Ramah to Platberg was not affected in the slightest degree by this mistake; but a large portion of the document published by Sir Henry Barkly as a reply to this protest is devoted to a refutation of it.

ceded a tract of country by way of indemnification for war expenses. That treaty was not respected, but was wantonly broken, and the Free State was once more forced to take up arms. Notwithstanding the provisions of the second article of the convention, England interfered in that dispute, declared the Basuto nation British subjects, and prohibited the transit of ammunition we required, although solemnly bound by that convention to allow it. And although the British government, on the protest of the Orange Free State against that interference as being a violation of the second article of the convention of 1854, alleged that their protection of the natives in this case did not tend to the detriment of the Free State, still the right did not then accrue to them utterly to negative the opposite view of the other contracting party, to refuse to hear them, and so to act as if such other party had no voice in the judgment of its own concerns. And in 1869 a convention was at last concluded at Aliwal North on that question between her Britannic Majesty's high commissioner and the Orange Free State, whereby the convention of 1854 was confirmed and declared not to have been violated by the proceedings of her Britannic Majesty on the Basuto question.

"On the 15th of September 1870 it was announced to the president of the Orange Free State by Lieutenant-General Hay, at that time acting governor of the Cape Colony, that Waterboer and his people had applied to be accepted as British subjects, and it was demanded of the Orange Free State to bring forward its proofs of right to the grounds claimed by Waterboer. Four days later—before the letter of the 15th of September 1870 could have reached Bloemfontein, the capital of the Free State—the Orange Free State was apprised that British magistrates would be appointed by the British government in the now proclaimed grounds then actually in its possession and under its jurisdiction.

"The government of the Orange Free State, as representing a free and independent people, acknowledged as an independent State by friendly powers—among others by the United States of North America, Germany, France, Russia, Austria, Italy, Spain, and the Netherlands,—having concluded conventions and agreements with her Britannic Majesty's government, and consequently being recognised by her Majesty as such, offered to submit the decision of the claims advanced by Captain Nicholas Waterboer, and of the rights of the Orange Free State to those grounds now proclaimed, to the arbitration of the head of a friendly power; at the same time urging for a similar decision regarding the true meaning of the second article of the convention of the 23rd February 1854, grounding such claim on the law of nations, as granting such right even when one party is weak and the other powerful. This offer was refused by her Britannic Majesty's government, and in a despatch of Earl Kimberley, dated 29th of July 1871, the Orange Free State was informed that England cannot allow foreign arbitration in South Africa, because serious embarrassments might arise therefrom.

“On the 27th of October 1871 that territory which has long been governed by the Orange Free State, and in which since 1869 rich diamond mines have been discovered, was in the name of her Majesty taken away from the Free State and, as the property of Nicholas Waterboer, proclaimed to be British territory. And, although the claims of the Orange Free State to sovereignty over that territory are denied to have ever existed, the occupiers of those grounds are nevertheless guaranteed in their rights to them, if acquired from the Orange Free State before January 1870.

“In the proclamation declaring said grounds to be British territory, the following reasons are alleged for this proceeding: *that the Orange Free State has obstinately refused to submit to arbitration the existing difference between their government and her Britannic Majesty, acting on behalf of Waterboer, or has attached to it impossible conditions.* While, on the contrary, the Orange Free State has all along been, and still is, willing to submit its claims to such an arbitration as consists with international right, to which the Orange Free State as a free and independent state considers itself entitled.

“In a despatch of Earl Kimberley, dated 21st of July 1871, as a motive for proclaiming the diamond-fields British territory, it is stated *that Waterboer's offer is accepted to prevent the irregularities which would arise from a prolonged absence of a regular government at the diamond-fields.* But the Orange Free State most positively denies the soundness of this reasoning, because magistrates were appointed by the Free State over those diamond-fields, a police force was supplied, courts of justice were established, and thousands of subjects of all nations were protected by the Orange Free State in their property and persons; and that in such a manner that after the forcible seizure of the diamond-fields by her Britannic Majesty's government, addresses signed by a great number of Englishmen were forwarded to his Excellency Sir Henry Barkly, requesting that under the British government the magistracy might be conferred upon the gentleman who had hitherto represented the Free State government. And in those addresses the following words, among others, occur: *that your memorialists, in accepting the administration of the British government now in force in the abovementioned and other places constituting the territory known as the diamond-fields, desire respectfully to draw your Excellency's attention to the satisfactory and efficient manner in which the Free State government has maintained law and order among the large number of people now present at the diamond-fields.* And while the existence of a regular government at the diamond-fields is denied, the functionaries appointed to those fields since his Excellency's proclamation are offering the Free State government to take over by purchase the prison and other official public buildings. The newspapers, likewise, published at the diamond-fields, are filled with comparisons between the former Orange Free State administration and the British system now violently introduced, which comparisons are to the advantage of the Orange Free State government.

"In a letter, dated 23rd of October 1871, from his Excellency Sir Henry Barkly, conveying copy of the proclamation of the diamond-fields, the authenticity of a letter from Captain Andries Waterboer, father of Nicholas Waterboer, dated 10th of February 1846, is called in question on the ground of a simple denial by Captain Nicholas Waterboer, and the Orange Free State government is thus indirectly accused of forgery, although the said letter of Captain Andries Waterboer was found by the Orange Free State government among the documents taken over from the British government, while the receipt of that letter is acknowledged by the former British government in the known handwriting, attached to the letter, of a British functionary then in the service of that government.

"In a despatch, dated 17th of November 1870, Earl Kimberley accused the people of the Free State of slave-dealing, an accusation which the people of the Orange Free State indignantly repel. It invites friendly powers to inquire whether this accusation has any foundation, and fears not the result of the inquiry.

"Besides, the entire correspondence carried on by his Excellency with the Free State shows that no disposition for an accord exists with him. All proofs advanced by the Free State are treated with contempt, or their authenticity is questioned, and to everything advanced by Waterboer, even pure and simple assertions, instant belief is conceded; and all this is the more remarkable, because the Free State people is bound to the population of the Cape Colony by intimate ties of relationship, and never has interposed the slightest difficulty towards the Cape Colony.

"As an independent though weak nation, not willing to have forced upon it by a stronger neighbour a mode of arbitration in which the people of the Free State have no confidence, it refuses, and will persist in refusing, the arbitration offered it by his Excellency Sir Henry Barkly, with a final umpire in South Africa, as an ultimatum. For the people of the Orange Free State will not furnish the show of right wherewith in such a case the injustice inflicted on them would be cloaked. As an independent people, they resolve to persist in their determination to claim—as a member, however small and weak, of the brotherhood of nations—to enjoy the privileges to which the law of nations entitles them.

"And whereas in the said proclamation of his Excellency Sir Henry Barkly, dated 27th of October 1871, British supremacy is still further proclaimed over a great extent of country, including the so-called Campbell grounds, in which also rich diamond mines have been discovered, and which lies on the other side or west of the Vaal river; whereas the Orange Free State lays claim to the thus proclaimed Campbell grounds by virtue of a purchase in 1861 from the general agent of the Griqua chief, Captain Adam Kok; whereas the decision of the claims of the Orange Free State to those Campbell grounds, notwithstanding repeated fruitless negotiations with Captain Nicholas Waterboer, has not yet taken place; and whereas also in that respect infringement has been made on the rights and claims of the Orange Free State:

"The volksraad of the Orange Free State likewise protests formally and solemnly against the establishment of British supremacy over that territory, usually called the Campbell grounds, and against all the proceedings of his Excellency the high commissioner.

"And believing that the Most High controls the destinies of nations and protects the weak, the people of the Orange Free State humbly but confidently commits its rights and future well-being to that Supreme Ruler, feeling assured that such reliance can never be disappointed.

"F. P. SCHNEHAGE, Chairman,

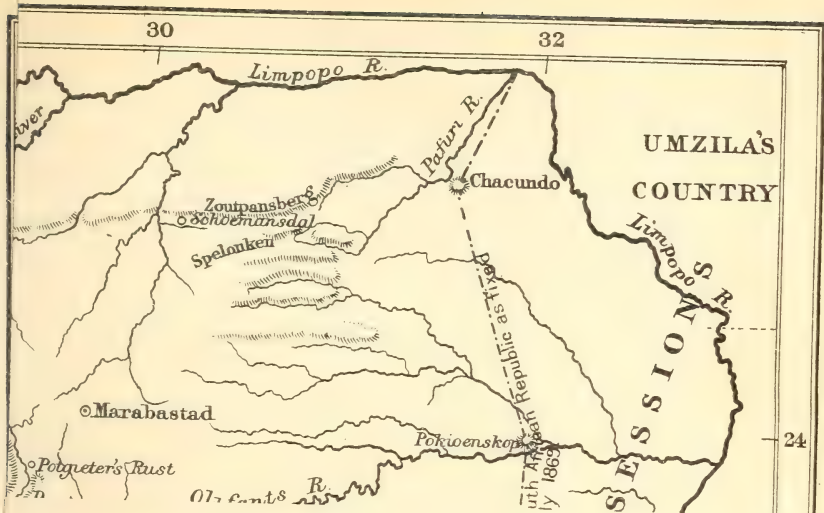
"JOH. Z. DE VILLIERS, Secretary."

Though the principal diamond-fields were thus severed from the Free State, two mines remained within its limits: those on the farms Jagersfontein and Koffyfontein, both a long distance east of the line from Ramah to Platberg.

During this time the revenue of the republic was rapidly increasing. The loss of the largest diamond mines only affected the state treasury nominally, for the cost of government there absorbed the whole of the receipts. An excellent market for farm produce of all kinds remained, and the people of the Free State made good use of it. Gold and silver money speedily became plentiful, and before the close of 1871 the bluebacks, or paper currency, rose to be worth 19s. 6d. in the pound. The public revenue in 1870 was £56,453, in 1871 £64,110, and in 1872 £70,011, and the expenditure was kept well within it, so that the loans were being paid off. Of the £43,000 in notes issued to meet the Basuto war expenses, £17,000 were called in and destroyed before 1872.

In May 1871 provision was made by the volksraad for the appointment of landdrosts to the villages of Bethlehem and Rouxville, thus creating two new districts.

Prosperity was now dawning on the republic, after the series of arduous struggles which its citizens had gone through. But the memory of those who had laid down their lives for their country in the recent war with the Basuto tribe was still fresh. That future generations might have before their eyes something to remind them of what their ancestors had gone through, a monument was erected in Bloemfontein





in remembrance of the brave men who had fallen. The monument was unveiled with befitting ceremony on Monday the 29th of May 1871, after religious service in the Dutch Reformed church.* Addresses were made by the state president, the chairman of the volksraad, and other men of note, one of the most stirring being by the clergyman of the English church, who trusted that the Free State through all time would be found fighting, as in the past, only when its cause was just.

* Copy of Inscription on the Monument near the Fort in Bloemfontein.

(North side, facing the Town):

TER
NAGEDACHTENIS
van de
DAPPEREN
DIE IN DEN OORLOG TEGEN DE BASUTOS
van 1865-1868
HUN LEVEN LIETEN
VOOR HET VADERLAND.

DE DANKBARE NATIE.

(East side):

MOLAPPOS-BERG
1 December, 1865
PLATBERG
6 December, 1865
BETHLEHEM
22 January, 1866

(South side):

ZIJ DIE STERVEN
VOOR DE VRIJHEID
VAN HUN VADERLAND
MAKEN ZICH JEGENS HETZELVE
VERDIENSTELIJK
EN VERWERVEN ZICH
EENE ONVERWELKELIJKE
EEREKROON.

(West side):

MOPELI'S-BERG
14 Junij, 1865
VERKEERDEVLEI
29 Junij, 1865
VECHTKOP
14 Julij, 1865
MASOEPA'S-STAD
25 Julij, 1865

CHAPTER LXXIX

FORMATION OF THE CROWN COLONY OF GRIQUALAND WEST.

ON the 27th of October 1871 the territory claimed by Mr. Arnot for the Griqua captain Nicholas Waterboer, containing the diamond fields, was proclaimed by Governor Sir Henry Barkly part of the British dominions, and the opportunity of uniting the different colonies and states of South Africa in a peaceable and friendly manner was unfortunately thrown away. Every man in the Free State believed that an act of great injustice had been committed, and the great majority of the Dutch speaking people in the Cape Colony and Natal were of the same opinion. Of the English speaking colonists, very few were found to defend the act, though the feeling was general that the Free State government was not strong enough to maintain order in case of disturbances by the people who were coming from Europe and America by thousands to seek wealth at the fields.

But, whatever opinion in South Africa may have been as to the right of Waterboer to the territory north of the Modder river in which the diamond fields were situated, the authorities in England certainly believed that he had such right, and the documents in their possession on the subject must have seemed to them conclusive on that point. Of the real history of the Grikwas they knew nothing, and consequently could not see the absurdity of Mr. Arnot's claim on behalf of the petty elected captain Nicholas Waterboer to a vast extent of territory far from the residence of the little community of under six hundred souls, all told, that he presided over, which territory his people had never occupied, and to which they had no hereditary right or title other

than an agreement between two intruding captains dividing all the land from the desert to the Caledon river between them.

The protest of the Orange Free State has been given in a previous chapter, the following is Mr. Arnot's case, as drawn up by the colonial secretary, Mr. Richard Southey, in opposition to it, and transmitted to England:—

“The volksraad of the Orange Free State, in its protest published on the 19th day of December 1871, asserts that infringement has been made upon its territorial rights and that the treaty subsisting between it and her Majesty's government has been violated by her Majesty's acceptance of the allegiance of the chief Nicholas Waterboer and the Griqua people, and by the governor of this colony having by proclamation of the 27th of October 1871 notified that acceptance and proclaimed as British territory a certain tract of country south of the Vaal river, for a long series of years governed by the Orange Free State and the property of and inhabited by Free State subjects.

“In support of this assertion they allege

“1st. That by a proclamation issued on the 3rd of February 1848 by Sir H. G. W. Smith, then her Majesty's high commissioner, the sovereignty of her Majesty was established over all the country lying between the Orange and Vaal rivers and the Drakensberg range of mountains, and that by a subsequent proclamation this country was divided into four magistracies or districts, named respectively Griqualand, Winburg, Vaal River, and Caledon river, each having its seat of magistracy at a named spot, and that the supremacy of her Majesty was then established over all people whether white or coloured living within those limits, and the world, to which the protest is addressed, is informed that these magisterial districts included the whole territory between the two rivers and the mountains above named, and it is implied that the magistrates exercised jurisdiction over all the inhabitants of whatever nation or colour, under and by virtue of her Majesty's commission.

“2nd. That in 1854 her Majesty's sovereignty was withdrawn from the country, and that Sir George Russell Clerk, acting as her Majesty's special commissioner, transferred the government over the whole of it to certain white inhabitants, who formed themselves into a republic and named it the Orange Free State.

"3rd. That a portion of the territory of the Orange Free State so transferred by Sir G. R. Clerk has been seized by her Majesty on behalf of Waterboer and his Griquas, and the Orange Free State deprived thereby of its sovereign rights therein.

"And they allege further that by the convention between Sir G. R. Clerk and certain white inhabitants of the country the latter secured for themselves the following advantages: 'The British government has no alliance whatever with any native chiefs or tribes to the northward of the Orange river with the exception of the Griqua chief Captain Adam Kok, and her Majesty's government has no wish or intention to enter hereafter into any treaties which may be injurious or prejudicial to the interests of the Orange Free State government;' besides this a free import of ammunition from the Cape Colony was at the same time guaranteed.

"And that notwithstanding this stipulation by which the comparatively few white inhabitants secured for themselves these advantages, which had been rendered necessary because they were surrounded by powerful tribes which had become their enemies in consequence of wars waged upon those tribes by the British government, that government disregarded the stipulation and entered into engagements with native chiefs and tribes north of the Orange river, without the consent and approval of the government of the Orange Free State; and on one occasion, when that state was at war with the Basutos, set aside the agreement respecting ammunition, and stopped the free import thereof from this colony.

"The foregoing appears to form the substance of the charges preferred by the Free State government against her Majesty's government, and of the arguments put forward by the former in support of its charges. The protest is so diffuse and contradictory as to render it a matter of some difficulty to reply to its statements *seriatim* or with due conciseness.

"In one part of the protest it is asserted that the government of the whole of the territory over which her Majesty's sovereignty had been proclaimed in 1848 was in 1854 handed over to the few white inhabitants, who formed it into a republic and named the same the Orange Free State. In another part it is alleged that the native tribes by which the white people were surrounded had been made the enemies of the latter by wars waged upon them by the British government. Again, in a third place, it is stated that in 1865 the Free State, compelled by the reiterated violations

of treaties, the neglect to fulfil solemn promises, the incessant robberies and presumptuous proceedings of the Basuto nation, girded on its sword and declared war against that nation. In 1866 a peace was concluded with the Basuto nation and a new treaty signed, whereby that nation ceded a tract of country by way of indemnification for war expenses. That treaty was not respected, but was wantonly broken, and the Free State was once more forced to take up arms.

"These assertions are, it will be seen, irreconcilable with each other. The Basutos possessed and occupied a very large portion of the territory between the Orange river, the Vaal river, and the Drakensberg, the whole of which (according to the protest) was taken possession of by the British government in 1848, divided into four districts presided over by magistrates, and in 1854 handed over to the white inhabitants; yet the same protest alludes to those natives as the Basuto nation, and to treaties entered into between the Free State and the Basuto nation, as well as a tract of country ceded to the Free State by that nation (which tract was altogether, as indeed was the whole country, occupied by the Basuto nation within the limits which the protest assigns to British dominion ceded to the white inhabitants and forming the Orange Free State), and it further makes mention of wars waged against these natives by the British government; all which statements are totally inconsistent with the idea previously set forth that the natives were in the first place British subjects ruled over by British magistrates, and subsequently subjects of the Orange Free State government and their territories included within the boundaries of that state.

"In order to form a just opinion upon the subject and to ascertain precisely in regard to territory what was possessed by the British government in 1854 and what was handed over to the white inhabitants who formed themselves into a republic denominated the Orange Free State, it is desirable briefly to notice the occurrences prior to that date, referring to official documents in support of the facts that will be adduced and the view of the case which will be maintained in this comment upon the volksraad's protest, namely that the British government in 1854 had no territorial possessions between the Orange and Vaal rivers and the Drakensberg except such as had been acquired by treaty agreements from the native tribes, and that it handed over to the white inhabitants no more than the territory so acquired.

(Here follows a correct account of the action of Sir Peregrine Maitland, Sir Harry Smith, and Sir George Clerk, which need not be given, as it has appeared in another volume).

“In further proof of the admission by the Free State government that the lands claimed by Waterboer between the Vaal river and the line from Ramah to Platberg were at the time of the convention with Sir G. R. Clerk beyond the limits of the territory which the white inhabitants at that time possessed, it may be mentioned that from 1854 to 1858 lands within those limits were professedly alienated both by grant and sale by a Griqua named Cornelius Kok, who is represented by the Free State government itself to have been an independent territorial chief; but this is denied by Waterboer, who states that although the said C. Kok was at one time a petty officer under his government, he had been removed from office for misconduct long before the land transactions in question, and had at no time had the power to dispose of the Griqua territory.

“These facts conclusively establish the position which was laid down in an earlier part of this memorandum, namely that the British government had not acquired and did not possess lands within the boundary claimed by Waterboer, and that it only ceded or purported to cede to the white inhabitants those lands which it did possess. The question then arises, what is the boundary of Waterboer's territory on the side of the Orange Free State? and that boundary, as already stated, was defined by treaty between the two branches of the Griqua nation in 1838, to run from Ramah on the Orange river northwards to Platberg. The Free State government disputes this line, and declares as a boundary between Griqualand West and that state a certain other line denominated the Vetberg line, which, instead of running as the former line, runs parallel to the course of the Vaal river, cuts at right angles to it, and gives to the Free State a very extensive tract of country claimed by Waterboer as belonging to his territory. Waterboer has always been willing and anxious to settle the question of right to the tract of land in question by arbitration, but could never obtain the consent of the Free State government to submit its claim to such an ordeal. And the British government, in notifying to that of the Free State its accession to the prayer of Waterboer and his people to be received as British subjects, intimated its willingness to allow the question of boundary to be still the subject of decision by arbitration, and that offer is still open.

(Here follows a statement concerning the Basuto wars and matters relating only to the Griquas of Adam Kok, which it is not necessary to give).

"As regards the charge that the convention of 1854 had been infringed by the action taken by the British government in prohibiting the free transit of ammunition, although solemnly bound by an article of that convention to allow it, it should be observed that the stipulation of that convention on this subject stands as follows, namely: 'The Orange River government shall have freedom to purchase their supplies of ammunition in any British colony or possession in South Africa, subject to the laws provided for the regulation of the sale and transit of ammunition in such colonies and possessions.' The laws and regulations referred to in this article provide that all persons desiring to purchase arms and ammunition must before doing so obtain permits from certain officers in the district in which the purchase is to be made; and no ammunition beyond a limited quantity can be conveyed from one part of the colony to another, or beyond the boundaries of the colony, unless the person conveying it provide himself with a similar official permission.

"The object for which these laws were enacted was to prevent arms and ammunition from getting into the hands of those who it might be thought would be likely to make use of the same in a way adverse to the interests of the colony.

"At the commencement of the last war between the Orange Free State and the Basutos, the governor of this colony, Sir P. E. Wodehouse, issued a proclamation commanding all British subjects to abstain from taking part in that war on either side, and in fact to observe a strict neutrality. During the progress of the war it was reported in the newspaper published at Bloemfontein, the seat of the Free State government, that an officer of that government was in communication with British subjects and endeavouring to induce them to raise levies within the colony to take part with the Free State against the Basutos, holding out the inducement that all stock or other property which they might succeed in taking from the Basutos should be retained by them as compensation for their services, and the same paper stated that this conduct on the part of the Free State officer was approved of by his government. Upon the governor of this colony becoming aware of this transaction, he addressed a friendly remonstrance thereon to the president of the Free State.

"Correspondence ensued and was continued during several months, in the course of which the governor warned the Free State government that if it persisted in its endeavour to induce British subjects from this colony to become freebooters on its side against the Basutos, it would become his duty to consider whether he would be justified in permitting this colony to continue the supply of ammunition for carrying on such a war. This correspondence on the Free State part being unsatisfactory to his Excellency, he directed the officers who were by law authorised to grant permits for the purchase of arms and ammunition to discontinue until the receipt of further orders their issue in favour of the Free State government.

"From a consideration of the foregoing remarks, it will be perceived :

"1st. That the allegations of the Free State volksraad, as contained in the protest under review, are based upon an entirely erroneous construction of the actual history of the country, as the large tract of country to the south of the Vaal river which the volksraad claims as having been for a long course of years governed by the Orange Free State and the property of and inhabited by Free State subjects was beyond question prior to the issue of Sir H. Smith's proclamation the property of the Griquas of Griqualand West, did not by force of that proclamation cease to be their property, and has never at any subsequent date been alienated by their government.

"2ndly. That her Majesty's special commissioner Sir George Clerk, in ceding to the white inhabitants the lands to the north of the Orange river which belonged to the British government, did not cede or profess to cede any portion of the territory of the chief Waterboer, and that the government of the Orange Free State at the beginning and during the earlier part of its existence well understood that the term sovereignty under British rule and the term Orange Free State under the rule of the republic did not comprise the territories of the native tribes by which the white inhabitants were surrounded, and

"3rdly. That the temporary refusal of permits to the Free State government for the purchase of supplies of ammunition arose from special circumstances which in the judgment of the governor of this colony rendered it imperative upon him to take immediate measures to prevent the misuse of the privilege in question.

"In conclusion, it may be added that much of the land in dispute was at the date of Sir Henry Barkly's proclamation the property of and held by British subjects and subjects of other European states, and had never at any previous time been the property of subjects of the Orange Free State, and that the attempt on the part of the Free State government to assume rule and jurisdiction over that tract of country must be held to have been a usurpation of the rights of an independent native government too weak to resist that usurpation by force of arms. The knowledge of this and of the yet more extensive act of encroachment which the governments of the Orange Free State and the South African Republic were adopting measures to accomplish, by which a large portion of the territories of the Griquas and other natives, within which a great and increasing number of British subjects were located, was to have been appropriated by those states, compelled the government of this colony to interfere to prevent the said British subjects from becoming parties to aggressions on native tribes with whom this government had ever been on the most friendly terms.

"The right to possession or occupation on the part of the Free State has from the first been denied by the chief Waterboer, and that chief has throughout the dispute endeavoured to induce the Free State to consent to a settlement by means of a fair and honourable arbitration. The Free State government has, however, persistently declined to submit its asserted rights to the ordeal of any practicable arbitration, and the endeavours of the colonial government, which has constantly urged upon the Free State the propriety of settling the matters in dispute in the manner proposed by Waterboer, have hitherto been without effect."

In this document the real point at issue—the ownership of the land between the Vaal and Modder rivers by Waterboer's clan at any time—is almost ignored, and no attempt to prove such ownership is made, for Mr. Arnot knew that it must have failed. His own words at a later date concerning the transaction were: "I had not a single trump card in my hand, but I won the game." The secretary of state for the colonies could not know this, however, and with documents such as the above before him, he must be held blameless for sanctioning a transaction that no one now attempts to defend except on the plea that it

was necessary for the predominant power in South Africa to assume the government of the diamond fields.

It is not from public documents that the bitter feeling can be ascertained which was caused in the republics by the taking possession of the territory as a cession from Waterboer and the subsequent adjustment of the boundary to make it enclose the diamond mines. There are other sources of information from which writers in the distant future will be able to draw. The author of these volumes was in an excellent position for learning the sentiments of both the Dutch and the English speaking residents north of the Orange, and is convinced that to this transaction more than to any other is due the feeling of suspicion of English policy mingled with enmity towards it, which for the next thirty years was entertained by many residents on secluded farms in the republics.*

*The leading article in the *Diamond News* of the 30th of December 1871 was written by me, but discontent was then rife at the fields, and it would have been wrong to use a single word that would inflame passion of any kind. The article was a retrospect of the year, and was as follows:—

In a few short hours the year of grace 1871 will be numbered with its predecessors among the past, and another year with its hopes and expectations will have dawned upon us. The now dying year is one that must ever stand prominent in the history of South Africa as one in which a great industry was developed and most important political changes were effected. At its commencement the dry diggings were indeed known to exist, and were being partially worked, but the great bulk of the diamond seeking community was then settled along the banks of the Vaal river. Pniel was in what was termed disputed territory, but Dutoitspan was generally considered to be a long way on the Free State side of any line that Waterboer could reasonably claim. When in the early part of the year violent possession of Bultfontein was taken by a large party of diggers, the colonial press justified the course adopted by the Free State government in assembling a commando for the dispersion of the raiders and the preservation of order. Soon afterwards the farms composing Dutoitspan were formally opened for digging purposes by the then recognised government of the country, and people from all parts began to flock hither, lured by the extraordinary value of the finds made by a few fortunate individuals. Simple but effective machinery for maintaining order and administering justice was speedily introduced, and in a few weeks arose a great hive

Even President Brand, the peacemaker, the ardent promoter of friendly feeling between Dutch and English in South Africa, the man whose motto was *alles zal regt komen*, all will come right in time, was stung to the quick by it, and in a letter to Mr. Hamelberg, dated 22nd of November 1871, made

of industry in the very heart of a wilderness. Then came the most important discovery since the first finding of diamonds in South Africa. The Colesberg Kopje, or New Rush of De Beer's, with its marvellous wealth, was opened, and created an excitement never before witnessed in this part of the world. The rapidity with which fortunes were made by the proprietors of claims there astonished and dazzled even the least enterprising burghers, and from the Cape Colony, Natal, the Orange Free State, the Transvaal Republic, and even from distant Europe and America fortune seekers came crowding in. In a very short time the river diggings were all but deserted. People at a distance could not or would not believe that this kopje was very small and every inch of it occupied. They read in the papers of immense sums being realised in a few days or weeks,—perhaps by some friend or acquaintance,—and where others did so well they imagined they would stand an equal chance. They came flocking in by thousands, most of them to be disappointed in their great expectations, but many to acquire wealth. In the meantime a town had arisen, not a town of tents only, but one in which large iron and wooden buildings lined the sides of the streets, and Dutoitspan, in addition to being the centre of diamond digging operations, had become the great depôt of commerce for the interior. Its rise had been nearly as marvellous and as rapid as the erection of the palace by the slave of the lamp, but it rests on more solid foundations, and there is little doubt but that it will continue to thrive and prosper.

The next event of importance was the recent change of government by the assumption of British authority over the dry diggings, now included in Griqualand West. Considering that the new government came into operation unpreparedly and without any force on the spot to carry out its decrees, its brief administration has been a difficult and unsatisfactory one. But there can be no doubt that in course of time it will acquire strength, and that ere long life and property will be as safe here as in any part of her Majesty's dominions.

The want of sanitary arrangements, or rather the want of power on the part of the authorities to carry out sanitary regulations, combined with the exposure and privations to which diggers are in the nature of things subjected, added to the heat of the weather and the prevalence of sand storms, have together caused a good deal of sickness since the commencement of summer, but the death rate has not been nearly so high as is usually reported in the Cape Colony. It

use of expressions strangely at variance with all his other correspondence and his language before and since. He deplored the weakness of the Free State, and wished for an ample supply of the best rifles and ammunition, with some mitrailleuses and other field pieces, which would have to be imported through Delagoa Bay. Portugal was too weak to oppose Great Britain, he would therefore like to see the United States of America, Germany, or even Russia get a footing at Delagoa Bay. It was but a temporary outburst of resentment that caused him to write in this strain, but that such a man as President Brand should even for a single hour have been moved so strongly shows how the uneducated farmers must have felt. Far the bitterest language that was used, however, was by Englishmen of high principle, who were wroth on seeing their flag made use of to cover such an act. If it had been necessary they would have set up a government of the fields without hesitation or scruple themselves, and have then handed it over to the empire; but to take the ground under the pretext that it was ceded by a man who no one believed had a shadow of a claim to it was something they were utterly ashamed of.

Meantime things were not working at all smoothly at the diamond fields. Under the Free State administration the difference between civilised and uncivilised men had been recognised, and the latter were subjected to certain restraints necessary for the well-being of the whole community. They were prohibited from roaming about after nine o'clock in the evening, they were not allowed to buy or sell diamonds, they were not permitted to purchase improbably never in any week exceeded fifteen per cent per annum of the population, and it has lately very materially diminished. Yet something like a panic was in the early part of the present month the order of the day, and a large proportion of the diggers deserted the camps with the intention of not returning until cool weather shall again set in.

The new year will open upon us with brilliant prospects, but in these days of marvels who can say what it may or may not bring forth. At any rate the energy which these diamond fields have infused into the formerly sluggish blood of South Africa cannot fail to carry on the march of improvement upon which we have entered.

toxicating liquor without an order in writing from their employers. These regulations had been judiciously enforced, with the result that order had been fairly well preserved. Now all this was changed. The naked barbarian had exactly the same rights as the most refined European, and had no more restraint upon his actions. He at once yielded to the temptation of strong drink, stole diamonds which he was now able to sell, and created disturbances throughout the night that turned the camp in which he lived into a pandemonium. He became insolent, worked as much or as little as he chose, and often was unfit for any labour at all.

Representations to this effect were made by the diggers to the executive committee, but to no purpose. The three gentlemen composing the committee were powerless to do anything except to carry out the instructions of the high commissioner in Capetown, and he had to be cautious not to do anything that might offend people in England who were constantly asserting that the blacks were oppressed in the republics and ought to be as free as the Europeans.

As therefore nothing was done to remedy the evil complained of, the diggers in exasperation took the law into their own hands. On the 17th of December 1871 a large number of men assembled and proceeded to burn down four low class canteens at the New Rush—now Kimberley—and three others at Old De Beer's. The proprietors of these canteens had been selling brandy in large quantities to coloured servants who were becoming utterly depraved, and it was morally certain, though it could not be legally proved, that they had been purchasing diamonds stolen by the blacks. The diggers destroyed everything on the premises, but abstained from removing or making use of a single article themselves.

Following this, on the 29th of December a mass meeting was held on the market square at Dutoitspan, when a number of resolutions were passed condemning the existing order of things, and it was unanimously agreed that a protest should be drawn up and signed against the ignoring

by the government of the committee of management and the old regulations, the charge of ten shillings a month by the proprietors of the farms for tent stands, the liberty granted to blacks to hold diamond claims, the sale of intoxicating liquor to blacks, the purchase or sale of diamonds by blacks, and the placing of barbarians on an equality with civilised men.

Some steps were then taken by the high commissioner to improve the condition of things, but they were altogether inadequate, and it was evident that nothing of importance could be done until the meeting of the Cape parliament, when the future position of the diamond fields would be decided. On the 18th of April 1872 parliament assembled in Capetown, and a bill for the annexation of Griqualand West—as Mr. Arnot had named the territory—to the Cape Colony was introduced by the government in the house of assembly.

On the 5th of June Mr. Southey moved the second reading. Mr. Solomon moved, and Mr. Molteno seconded, as an amendment:

“That, pending the settlement of the disputes between the government of Great Britain and the government of the Orange Free State on the subject of the boundaries of West Griqualand, which now happily appears to be near at hand, and in the absence of all information of the number and position of its population,—information on which, as well as on other points connected therewith, has been asked for by respectful address to the governor,—the house feels that it would be inexpedient to enter this session upon the consideration of any measure for the annexation of that territory to this colony, as it would be impossible for the house to decide with any confidence as to what political representation ought to be given to its inhabitants in the parliament of the colony, and on the other questions which would have to be decided simultaneously with its annexation to the colony.”

Mr. Merriman moved as a further amendment “that the bill be read a second time on this day six months.” He spoke strongly in favour of the Free State view, and declared his belief that Waterboer had no right whatever to the ground. Mr. Watermeyer seconded this amendment. He said he desired to see a united South Africa, and there-

fore would do nothing to rouse the hostility of the Orange Free State. He referred to the numerous petitions that had been sent in against the bill as evidence that public opinion was opposed to it.

The treasurer-general thought the house by its action in 1871 was pledged to support the bill. Mr. Glanville supported it because he thought the colony would act more tenderly than the imperial government towards the Free State, and he desired to see the union of the different communities. The rule of the diamond fields by the Free State he thought would be bad, by the South African Republic would be worse, and by an independent digger republic worst of all. To that it might come if the Cape Colony declined to annex the territory.

Mr. King supported the bill. He believed that if the Free State kept the territory that state would be ruled by the diamond fields, not the diamond fields by it. He was entirely of Mr. Glanville's opinion as to the degrees of bad government, and he considered the house pledged by its resolution of 1871 to annex the territory and then endeavour to make some arrangement with the Free State satisfactory to both parties.

Mr. De Villiers supported Mr. Solomon's amendment. He regretted the resolution of the preceding year, but considered the house was not pledged to annex the territory while the boundary was in dispute. He referred to a recent survey of the line from Ramah via David's Graf to Platberg, which showed the diamond fields to be beyond or on the eastern side of it, and asked what position the colony would be in if after annexation arbitrators were to award the whole of the fields to the Free State or say the twentieth part to Waterboer. Responsible government was near at hand, and the federation of the different communities was much spoken of. He thought the Free State would have been willing to enter into a federal union if things had remained as they were until recently, but certainly would not be if the bill before the house were passed.

Mr. Manuel would vote for Mr. Merriman's amendment, and regretted the resolution of the preceding year. Mr. Tennant would do the same.

Messrs. Sprigg, Reuben Ayliff, and Stigant were in favour of Mr. Solomon's amendment.

The debate was continued throughout the sitting on the 6th of June. Messrs. Knight, Van Rhyn, Wehmeyer, and Orpen supported Mr. Merriman's amendment, Messrs. Wright and Goold supported that of Mr. Solomon, and only Mr. Pearson argued on the same line as Mr. Glanville. Mr. Shawe then moved another amendment, which Mr. Rice seconded, omitting some words in Mr. Solomon's and making it read:

"That, pending the settlement of the disputes between the government of Great Britain and the government of the Orange Free State on the subject of the boundaries of West Griqualand, and in the absence of all information of the number and position of its population,—information on which, as well as on other points connected therewith, has been asked for by respectful address to the governor,—the house feels that it would be inexpedient to enter upon the consideration of any measure for the annexation of that territory to this colony, as it would be impossible for the house to decide, with any confidence, as to what political representation ought to be given to its inhabitants in the parliament of the colony, and on the other questions which would have to be decided simultaneously with its annexation to the colony."

Mr. Solomon thereupon withdrew his amendment in favour of Mr. Shawe's, and Messrs. Quin and Adams spoke in support of it.

Messrs. Louw, Prince, and Buchanan announced their intention to support Mr. Merriman's amendment, and only Messrs. Loxton and Clough spoke in favour of passing the bill.

On the 7th Mr. Smith moved a new amendment:

"That the house, while adhering to the resolution adopted last session on the subject of the annexation of Griqualand West, considers that under existing circumstances it is not expedient during the present session to adopt any measure for the annexation of the territory to the colony, and its representation in parliament."

The debate so far showed that only five members would vote for the bill and twenty-four would reject it. Mr.

Bowker now spoke in favour of Mr. Merriman's amendment, and the governor, seeing such an overwhelming majority against the measure, instructed the colonial secretary to withdraw the bill without putting it to the vote.

At the diamond fields the failure of the governor's plans was regarded with satisfaction, for the majority of the English speaking diggers desired a local representative government, and objected to being ruled from a place so distant as Capetown. Their aspirations in this respect were natural, and it was undeniable that laws adapted for an agricultural and pastoral people such as those of the Cape Colony were not in all cases suitable for a mining community. But the condition of Griqualand West was such that representative government there was almost out of the question. Already the enormous quantity of diamonds found had caused a great reduction in their value, and with the falling in of the roads across the Colesberg kopje, the principal mine, the expense of working was considerably increased.

The excavations there were now from fifty to eighty feet or 15·24 to 24·38 metres deep, and from the margin of the crater to the claims below ropes were stretched, along which the ground was drawn up in buckets. Many of the claims were subdivided into quarters or even eighths, and some of these small sections were worked on shares, the owner receiving one half of the gross proceeds. More black labourers were required than formerly, and that class of the population had increased, while the Europeans were diminishing in number. Men who had no ground of their own or who were unsuccessful as diggers were in a state of poverty, a condition of things which induced lawlessness, if not actual crime.

A robbery of a somewhat sensational character took place at this time. In the evening of the 9th of May 1872 a respectable looking man named John William Harding went to the post office at the Colesberg kopje, and seeing no one inside, inserted his arm through the delivery window and

removed a bag from the counter in which were letters containing two thousand three hundred and eighty-one diamonds, weighing six pounds avoirdupois or 2·722 kilogrammes. When the theft was discovered a search was instituted, but no trace of the missing bag was found. On the 4th of June Harding was arrested in a hotel in Capetown on a charge of theft of money from a fellow passenger from England about three months before. His luggage was on board the steamship *Syria*, in which he had taken his passage to England, and when it was examined for removal by the police two thousand three hundred and forty-seven diamonds and about £1,000 in coin, notes, &c., were discovered. The barrel of a rifle was filled with diamonds. On his trial on the 15th of July Harding confessed the crime, and gave such information as enabled the police to recover the letters, which he had concealed but not destroyed, so that restitution of the diamonds to their owners was made easy. He was sentenced to five years imprisonment with hard labour.

Shortly afterwards another sensational robbery took place, of a great number of diamonds from a postbag that had dropped—or perhaps been thrown—from the mail waggon on the way to Capetown. In this instance the thief was caught by a disguised detective, and the diamonds were recovered. These cases naturally caused excitement at the time, but were far from producing such irritation as was occasioned by the thefts of diamonds by black servants from their employers. Owing to these the diggers were in a state of actual exasperation. A number of low class whites from the worst streets in London had found their way to the fields, and had organised a regular system of robbery. After October 1871 black men could hold claims in the mines, and diamonds found by Kaffir servants could easily be transferred to them and afterwards sold openly, or they could be sold secretly to some unscrupulous European directly or through the agency of a third person. On the 30th of May 1872 a proclamation had been issued by Sir Henry Barkly forbidding the sale or purchase of uncut

diamonds by unauthorised persons under a penalty of three times their value, and in default of payment, imprisonment with or without hard labour for any period not exceeding two years. This proclamation, however, had no effect in checking the robberies.

In July the general discontent culminated in serious riots. On the 16th of that month an Indian at Colesberg Kopje was detected in the act of purchasing stolen diamonds from some black servants, when at once a number of diggers assembled, and after handling him very roughly, would have hanged him, had not the resident magistrate, Mr. R. W. H. Giddy, induced them to desist and allow him to be taken to prison. Meantime the crowd had been constantly increasing, and now set about burning down the tents and destroying the stock in trade of low class canteen keepers who were suspected of illicit diamond buying. Next day the excitement rose higher, and in the evening a great mob recommenced the destruction of tents and property of suspected persons, the police being unable to prevent these lawless acts, though they managed to arrest four of the leaders, who were committed to prison.

On the 18th Mr. Giddy, who had succeeded Mr. Bowker as commissioner, appealed to the diggers to assist him in maintaining order, and a good many enrolled themselves as special constables. Two of those arrested on the 17th were released from prison on bail of £1,000 each, and in the evening a great crowd assembled in front of the magistrate's house and demanded the liberation of the other two. Mr. Giddy offered to comply if bail was forthcoming, which was immediately offered, and so no further rioting occurred.

On the 19th Messrs. Campbell and Thompson arrived from Klipdrift, and a series of conferences took place afterwards between the three commissioners and a committee of eleven persons representing the digging community. The committee desired

“1. That the commissioners suspend from this date all licenses and the granting of all renewal of licenses to coloured persons to search for diamonds, or to buy, sell, or otherwise deal in diamonds.

"2. That the resident magistrate be empowered to inflict summary justice on all offenders, and that the jurisdiction in civil cases be extended to £500 at the option of the plaintiff.

"3. That the commissioners at once organise an efficient detective and police force.

"4. That the seat of government be removed from Klipdrift to the New Rush.

"5. That all revenue collected in this territory shall be retained for the purpose of defraying the expenses of administering the government of the territory.

"6. That the rules hereunto annexed shall, within as short a time as possible, be sanctioned and proclaimed law, the same to apply to the whole of the districts of Griqualand.

" Rules.

"1. That no Kaffir or other coloured person be entitled to hold a license to search for diamonds.

"2. That no Kaffir or other coloured person shall be entitled to hold a license to buy, sell, or otherwise deal in diamonds.

"3. That any person who shall be convicted before a magistrate of having purchased a diamond or diamonds from any native shall receive publicly fifty lashes, and his property shall be confiscated, the proceeds to be applied to forming a fund for rewards to persons who give information which leads to the detection and conviction of an offender, and any surplus money accruing shall be at the disposal of the representatives of the diggers.

"4. That any person who shall be convicted before a magistrate of having induced, or endeavoured to induce, any native servant to steal diamonds from his master shall receive fifty lashes and be imprisoned for a term not less than two years with hard labour.

"5. That every employer of native labourers shall enter into a written contract of service with each servant before an officer to be appointed to attest the same, whose duty it shall be to register such contract and give to each contracting party a ticket thereof, under the provisions of the seamen's registration act.

"6. That on the discharge of each servant it shall be the duty of his master to endorse on the ticket of service the fact of such discharge and the date thereof, under a penalty of £5 sterling.

"7. That no unemployed native labourer shall be permitted within the camp beyond forty-eight hours after discharge, and any native found so offending shall be liable to be apprehended, and when brought before the magistrate, should he refuse to engage his services, or should he not then procure a master, he shall be treated and punished in a similar manner as by the English vagrant act.

"8. Every employer of native labourers and all constables and other officers of the law shall at all times have the right, without warrant under the hand of a magistrate, to search the persons and habitations of

such native labourers, and in the event of any diamonds or other precious stones being found in their possession for which they cannot satisfactorily account, they shall be dealt with according to law, and any money or other property they may possess shall become the property of the government.

"9. It shall be the duty of the police to patrol the country surrounding the camps, with a view of apprehending absconding servants, and any servant found without his proper certificate of discharge shall be liable to be apprehended and dealt with according to law.

"10. All diamonds found in the possession of any native labourer shall in the absence of proof to the contrary be deemed to be the property of, and handed over to his present master should he be in service, and if otherwise to his last employer, who shall pay a sum equal to ten per cent of the value thereof to the apprehending officer.

"11. That no person shall be permitted to sell wines, spirituous, or other intoxicating drinks to any native servant, under a penalty of confiscation of his property and imprisonment for a term of not less than three calendar months.

"12. That no canteen keeper shall be allowed to receive any diamond or diamonds in payment or part payment, in pledge or pawn, for liquors, under a penalty of not less than two years' imprisonment and confiscation of his property."

On the 22nd the commissioners replied to these requests. They wrote

"1. As to the suggestion that the issuing of licenses to natives or other coloured persons to search for or deal in diamonds should be suspended pending the signification of his Excellency's pleasure thereon, the commissioners will direct that licenses to natives or other coloured persons to search for or deal in diamonds shall be suspended on Wednesday next, and shall thenceforth be issued or renewed only upon production to the inspector of claims, or to the distributor of stamps respectively, of a certificate of character and fitness, either from the diggers' committee or, in a digging where there is no such committee, from a board of seven bona fide white claimholders to be elected by white claimholders for that purpose.

"2. In answer to the proposal for increasing the power of magistrates, the commissioners will empower magistrates to punish the theft of diamonds, either by any number of lashes not exceeding fifty, or by imprisonment with hard labour for any period not exceeding six months; as also to hear and decide civil causes wherein the value of the matter in dispute does not exceed £100, without prejudice to the right of any suitor to bring his action in the first instance in the high court or in any circuit court, should he elect to do so, in any case where the sum sued for is beyond the ordinary jurisdiction of the magistrate's court.

"3. The commissioners have to inform the committee that the organisation of a special police for the diamond fields has been already commenced.

"4. The question of removing the seat of government to the New Rush is one which must be left entirely to the consideration of his Excellency.

"5. The appropriation of a part of the revenue collected upon the diamond fields to adjusting the amounts advanced and expended out of the colonial revenue for the purpose of government here does not appear to be a matter of which any just complaint can be made.

"6. In reference to the rules submitted to the commissioners, they have to reply as follows :

"Rules 1 and 2 are disposed of by the reply to clause 1 of this memorial.

"3. Approved, with the following modification, namely, that any person who shall be convicted before a resident magistrate of having purchased or received in pledge or pawn a diamond or diamonds from any native other than a claimholder or licensed dealer shall be liable to a fine not exceeding £100 sterling, or to imprisonment with or without hard labour for any period not exceeding six months.

"4. Approved, with the following modification, namely, that any person who shall be convicted before a resident magistrate of having induced, or endeavoured to induce, any native servant to steal a diamond or diamonds from his master shall be punished with any number of lashes not exceeding fifty, or with imprisonment with or without hard labour for any period not exceeding twelve months.

"5, 6, 7, 8. The commissioners have already sent for his Excellency's approval a complete scheme of registration of servants, pending which the civil commissioner has approved a set of rules upon the same subject forwarded to him by the committee, and the same will be brought into operation.

"9. The definition of the means to be adopted by the police for the performance of their duties rests with the officer in command.

"10. Approved.

"11. Is covered by government notice number three of 1871.

"12. Approved, with the following modifications, namely, that no canteen keeper shall be allowed to receive any diamond or diamonds on pledge or pawn, or in payment or part payment of any liquor, under a penalty, upon conviction in a magistrate's court, of a fine not exceeding £50, or imprisonment with or without hard labour for any period not exceeding six months."

Mr. Thompson objected to the first clause, suspending existing licenses to coloured people, but the committee insisted upon it as necessary, and on the 23rd Messrs. Campbell and Giddy issued a proclamation enforcing it from

the following day. Upon this being published, the diggers expressed themselves satisfied, and order was restored.

When information of what had occurred reached Sir Henry Barkly, he at once expressed disapproval of the proclamation issued by Messrs. Campbell and Giddy and of several of the rules that they had agreed to. On the 10th of August he issued three proclamations, which did not indeed make any essential changes in the recently introduced regulations, but in which distinctions founded on colour were obliterated. Thus it was made illegal for any person to be registered as a claimholder without a certificate from a magistrate, or a justice of the peace specially authorised for the purpose, that he was of good character and a fit and proper person to be so registered. Canteen keepers were prohibited from dealing in diamonds. A registry of servants was created, with stringent regulations and heavy penalties for infringement of the clauses. Masters were empowered to search their servants, without procuring warrants, and if diamonds were found upon them or in their quarters, they were made subject to imprisonment with or without hard labour for any period not exceeding twelve months, or to fifty lashes, or to both imprisonment and lashes. The jurisdiction of magistrates in civil cases was increased, so that they could hear and decide suits of the value of £500 on promissory notes or other documents, and of £250 on oral evidence.

As soon as he could leave Capetown, Sir Henry Barkly proceeded to the diamond fields, and reached Dutoitspan on the 7th of September. He was received with expressions of loyalty by most of the diggers, and at a public dinner in his honour at the Colesberg kopje was loudly cheered when he announced his intention of recommending the imperial authorities to erect Griqualand West into a crown colony, with a constitution similar to that of Natal.

As the administration of the government by a triumvirate, two of whom resided at Klipdrift and the other at the Colesberg kopje, and who held different opinions on many

matters, was an entire failure, Mr. Richard Southey was appointed sole administrator. Mr. John Campbell was transferred to Capetown as resident magistrate, and an executive council was created, of which Mr. Southey was to be chairman, and Mr. John Blades Currey, who at the same time was appointed government secretary, Mr. J. C. Thompson, and Mr. R. W. H. Giddy were to be members. On the 9th of January 1873 Mr. Southey arrived at the diamond fields, took up his residence at the Colesberg kopje, and the new form of government was inaugurated. It was regarded as merely temporary until her Majesty's ministers should decide what was to be done now that the Cape Colony refused to incorporate the territory while its eastern boundary was in dispute with the Orange Free State.

The correspondence between the high commissioner and the president was continuous, and for a time it seemed as if an agreement between them would be concluded that the matter in dispute should be left to the decision of local arbitrators with a final referee in Europe to be nominated by one of the foreign ambassadors in England, but in August President Brand was taken very seriously ill and was compelled to desist from exertion of any kind. On the 31st of that month Mr. F. K. Höhne, the government secretary of the Orange Free State, assumed duty as acting president until the volksraad should meet. That body on the 4th of October appointed a commission consisting of Messrs. W. W. Collins, F. P. Schnehage, and G. J. Dutoit to carry on the government from the 21st of that month until Mr. Brand should recover, and it was not before the 16th of June 1873 that the president was able to resume duty. The volksraad refused to agree to a stipulation made by the high commissioner that the deed of submission to arbitration should be so drawn up as to exclude all references to the convention of the 23rd of February 1854, and so the long correspondence ended in nothing.

A reply to the document drawn up in Mr. Southey's name on the 25th of April was approved of and published, in

which the case of the Free State was again given, and an official letter from Mr. Southey himself when he was private secretary to Governor Sir Harry Smith was quoted in refutation of the most important statement now put forward, really by Mr. Arnot, on the opposing side. It is not necessary to give this reply, because all the events referred to in it have been recorded in previous chapters.

As nothing else could be done, the imperial authorities followed the counsel of Sir Henry Barkly, and erected Griqualand West into a crown colony. The letters patent effecting this were promulgated on the 17th of July 1873. The territory was formed into three electoral divisions, named Kimberley, Barkly, and Hay. In the division of Kimberley were the diamond fields on the farms Bultfontein, Dorstfontein, and Vooruitzicht, a circle with a radius of two miles or 3·2 kilometres enclosing the mines Bultfontein, Dutoitspan, Old De Beer's, and the Colesberg kopje or New Rush. The camp at the Colesberg kopje now took the name of Kimberley, and was made the seat of government. There were two or three hundred good pastoral farms in this division. In the division of Barkly were the diggings along the Vaal river and the agricultural and pastoral lands along the Hart and the Vaal, occupied chiefly by Koranas and Betshuana. The village at Klipdrift remained the seat of magistracy, but was renamed Barkly. The division of Hay covered the remainder, or southern and western portion, of the territory, and was occupied by the Griquas with a few Koranas and Betshuana. Griquatown became the seat of magistracy of this division.

The administration was vested in the high commissioner as governor of the province, or in his absence in a lieutenant-governor, appointed by the crown, and assisted by an executive council consisting of the secretary to government, the attorney-general, and the treasurer, of which the lieutenant-governor was president.

A legislative council was created, to consist of four official and four elected members. The official members were those

composing the executive council. The division of Kimberley was to return two members to the legislative council, and Barkly and Hay were each to return one. The governor, or in his absence the lieutenant-governor, was to preside in the council, and had a casting vote if other votes were equal. The council was to meet once every year, but it could be convened, prorogued, or dissolved, at the pleasure of the governor. The elected members were to retain their seats for three years, unless the council should be dissolved during that time, or unless they should accept office under government, in which case they were obliged to resign, but were eligible for reëlection. If a member should resign his seat and no successor be elected within three months, the governor was empowered to fill the vacancy.

Every male British subject, over twenty-one years of age and unconvicted of crime, was entitled to be registered as a voter, upon payment of a fee of two shillings, provided that he had occupied for six months a building of the value of £25, or had been a registered claimholder, or had been in receipt of a salary not less than at the rate of £100 a year or £50 with board and lodging. Any registered voter who should receive a requisition from twenty-five others was eligible as a candidate for a seat in the council.

The members elected in 1873 were Dr. P. H. J. Graham and Mr. Henry Green for Kimberley, Advocate Davison for Barkly, and Mr. David Arnot for Hay. In January 1874 the legislative council met for the first time. Mr. Southey, who now bore the title of lieutenant-governor, presided. Ordinances were passed, increasing the license to purchase diamonds to £50 a year, prohibiting trade in diamonds anywhere except in licensed offices, compelling dealers to keep registers in which all purchases should be minutely recorded, under penalty of a fine of £50 or three months imprisonment, and prohibiting any one from having more than ten claims registered in his name. It was now hoped that illicit dealing would be checked, and a few wealthy men or companies be prevented from getting possession of the mines.

CHAPTER LXXX.

ANNEXATION OF GRIQUALAND WEST TO THE CAPE COLONY.

THE new government gave no more satisfaction than the one it superseded. Mr. Southey had long and varied experience in office work, and was unquestionably an able man, but it cannot be said that he possessed the tact necessary for the office he filled at the diamond fields. He was an ultra conservative, whose ideas of government were not those of the mass of the diggers, consequently he never became popular. Then the policy of the administration was directed by the high commissioner, and he had merely to carry out instructions, so that he cannot justly be blamed for much that went wrong.

Various departments were created after the model of older colonies, which made the administration expensive, and its maintenance pressed heavily upon the diggers. They complained that the elective element in the council was so small that they were practically unrepresented. The farms on which the mines were situated had been purchased by speculators from their original owners, and disputes with the new proprietors kept the camps in a constant state of excitement. The council attempted to limit the proprietors' power of charging whatever rents they chose, but the ordinance was disallowed by the imperial authorities as being an infringement of rights. At length this difficulty was solved, as far as the principal mine was concerned, by the government purchasing the farm Vooruitzicht for £100,000, and selling the building stands which before had been held on lease.

As the crater deepened at Kimberley, the cost of digging increased. Powerful pumping machinery was required to keep the claims free of water, and frequently a landslip would take place, or a great fall of reef, which could only be removed at a cost of thousands of pounds. And all this time diamonds were declining in value. From two to three million pounds worth a year were still sent out of the province, but the quantity required to represent that sum was increasing year by year at an alarming rate. Heavy taxation, under these circumstances, was loudly complained of. But the diggers complained even more of the absence of adequate protection for property, of the want of sympathy on the part of the principal officers of government, and of the manner in which public affairs were conducted. It seemed to them as if the interests of the country were uncared for, while every petty document was docketed and carefully tied with red tape.

Another difficulty, distinct from the ownership of the ground, had arisen with the Orange Free State. The Bantu tribes far and near were arming with guns obtained at the diamond fields, and the European residents in both the republics were consequently in a state of alarm and were doing all they could to suppress the forbidden traffic within their own borders. On two occasions the Free State officials had seized waggons conveying firearms through the district of Jacobsdal without license, and had confiscated the contraband articles. On the 12th of December 1872 they made another seizure, of three waggons laden with guns and ammunition, the property of British subjects, on the way to the diamond fields. The seizure took place on the farm Magersfontein, a name written large in history now, but then hardly known beyond the immediate neighbourhood. The farm was owned by Mr. M. Combrink, and was held under a title granted by Major Warden when the country was a British possession. It was believed in the Free State to be on the eastern side of the boundary of Griqualand West as proclaimed by Sir Henry Barkly, but Mr. F. H. S.

Orpen, the surveyor-general of the province, had recently sketched a line which placed it considerably west of the border.

A good deal of correspondence followed between the executive committee of the Orange Free State and the high commissioner, in which the former affirmed that they had consistently respected the boundary as proclaimed, though they continued to protest against the cession by Waterboer, and that they had only received a copy of Mr. Orpen's sketch on the 8th of January 1873 and disputed its accuracy. The high commissioner stated that he would maintain the line sketched by Mr. Orpen, and that as Magersfontein was therefore in Griqualand West, the Free State in seizing the three waggons had attacked Great Britain and insulted the British flag.

On the 27th of January 1873 Mr. Currey, the government secretary of Griqualand West, arrived in Bloemfontein, and handed to the executive committee a demand from the high commissioner, dated on the 11th of the month, that the three waggons should be restored and £600 be paid as damages to their owners within one hundred hours from the time of receiving the missive, and further that a full apology be made for what had occurred. Upon receipt of this demand the committee called the executive council together, and the question what was to be done was earnestly debated. All the members realised that a refusal to comply with the high commissioner's demand would be followed by war and the loss of independence, but some of them preferred even this to what they regarded as the humiliation of doing what was required. Messrs. Collins, Schnehage, and Prinsloo voted for refusal. But others were in favour of a more moderate course, and thought the best thing that could be done would be to surrender the waggons and pay the £600 under protest, while declining to make an apology. For this line of action Messrs. Höhne, Truter, Dutoit, Steyn, and Venter voted. On the 30th of January, therefore, Mr. Currey was informed that the

money and the waggons with their lading intact were given up under protest, and a proposal was made to Sir Henry Barkly that a commission should be appointed to settle the boundary line and place beacons along it, in order to avoid future complications.

The volksraad was called together in extraordinary session on the 13th of February, and though the debate took place with closed doors, it was known that feeling ran very high. The action of the executive committee and council was, however, approved of, and the session closed on the 21st.

Sir Henry Barkly accepted the proposal of a commission to lay down a boundary, and nominated Judge Barry, of Griqualand West, as the member on the British side. He then asked the Free State government to draw up the requisite deed of submission, and transferred all further correspondence on the subject to Lieutenant - Governor Southey. The Free State nominated Attorney-General Buchanan, of the South African Republic, as its representative, and all parties agreed to accept Sir Sidney Smith Bell, chief justice of the Cape Colony, as final umpire. On the 8th of May 1873 the volksraad in its ordinary session requested Messrs. Klynveld, Vels, and F. K. Höhne to draw up a deed of submission, and appointed Advocate Vels to act as its solicitor in the matter.

But after all no settlement was arrived at. On the 26th of May the government secretary of the Orange Free State forwarded to Kimberley a deed of submission, in which the gentlemen named were empowered to fix the position of Ramah, David's Graf, and Platberg, and to lay down straight lines between those points; but to this Mr. Southey replied on the 6th of June objecting, as he desired that the three places or terminal points of lines should be laid down within very narrow limits in the deed of submission itself, in other words that the possibility not only of Magersfontein but of the diamond fields being declared outside of Griqualand West might be guarded against. To such a deed

of submission, which the Free State maintained would really give its case away, it refused to consent, and so nothing could be done in the matter.

The above, though the most pressing difficulty, was not the only one at this time. The Free State tried to prevent Bantu from openly carrying arms on its soil, and went to the expense of enrolling a small force of police for the purpose. Some individual blacks were arrested, and their weapons were confiscated. Then a number of Molapo's Basuto resolved to march together, and to cross the state as rapidly as possible, in expectation of being able to reach their own country before a sufficient force could be got together to oppose them. But Inspector Van Ryneveld of the Free State police heard of their having crossed the border, and with his own men and twenty-five farmers who assembled hastily he rode to Mooimeisjesfontein and took post there on the 17th of January 1873 as the Basuto band was approaching. Seventy fine stalwart barbarians, all but one with a gun on his shoulder, marched along until suddenly confronted by the Europeans who ordered them to halt. They were then called upon to surrender their weapons, and were informed that they must go to Boshof to answer to the charge of setting the law at defiance. Without hesitation, they refused to give up their guns, and produced their passes from the diamond fields which showed that they had purchased the weapons honestly. Inspector Van Ryneveld informed them that the documents were of no value in the Free State, but they still persisted in refusing to surrender their guns.

Whether the Free State force or the Basuto fired the first shot is uncertain, for each asserted afterwards that the other did; but this is not of much importance. The white men were there to enforce the law, and were determined to do it. The black men were there to break the law, and were equally resolved to do it. Each believed itself to have right on its side. The ground admitted of both parties taking shelter, consequently the firing had so little effect that the only

casualties were two Basuto killed and two wounded. Night came on, and in the darkness the blacks made their way back to Dutoitspan, where they reported what had occurred. They were British subjects, and the high commissioner, as he was unquestionably justified in doing, demanded a thorough investigation into the whole matter. To this the Free State made no objection, but the tone of Sir Henry Barkly's correspondence was such that the existing irritation was greatly increased by it.

At the diamond fields the discontent of the European residents who were not in thriving circumstances was constantly increasing, and the Free State government might have been pleased at being relieved of the difficulty of maintaining order there if it had been treated with more consideration. A sensible, practical people, whose first wish was to avoid turmoil and strife, the farmers in the republic fully realised the advantage to them of the excellent market afforded by the diamond mines, and it would not have been difficult to induce them to come to some friendly arrangement under which everything that British interests demanded might have been secured, and the way prepared for the eventual unification of South Africa, if a far-seeing, benevolent, and courteous statesman such as Sir George Grey had been her Majesty's representative here at the time. Sir Henry Barkly's dislike of "the boers," his highhanded, almost contemptuous manner of dealing with the republican governments, proved an effectual barrier against anything like harmony or confidence.

At Kimberley and Dutoitspan complaints, some frivolous, others well founded, were brought against the administration during 1873 and 1874, chief among them being the prevalence of illicit diamond buying, owing to the laws making no distinction of colour or race. At length a number of men banded together in what they termed a mutual protection association, went about armed, and drilled openly under the direction of military leaders, some of whom were known to be disaffected towards English rule and

boasted of being Fenians. What the ultimate object of this association may have been is uncertain. Open rebellion would have been an act of such extreme folly that few of the members can have intended to go so far, and probably their object was merely to gain notoriety. But when hundreds of excited men meet together with arms in their hands, and no force is present to restrain them, insurrection is easily drifted into. The police of Kimberley were directed to seize a quantity of ammunition and rifles known to be on the premises of one of the disaffected men, but to do it as quietly as possible. They did as they were directed, and not only seized the material of war but arrested the owner of the premises and conveyed him to prison. Immediately the alarm was sounded, when his associates hastily assembled, marched in a body to the magistrate's office, and demanded the release of the prisoner. Mr. Giddy was a man of tact, and managed to prevent a riot without acceding to the demand, but passion continued to run high, and the lieutenant-governor, believing his authority to be in danger, represented to the high commissioner that he was unable to preserve order.

Sir Henry Barkly then considered it necessary to send a body of imperial troops to the diamond fields. General Sir Arthur Cunynghame, who was then commander in chief of the forces in South Africa, directed it in person. It consisted, exclusive of officers, of two hundred and ninety men of the 24th regiment, forty of whom were mounted to serve as cavalry, and twenty-five artillerymen with two Armstrong guns. It was accompanied by a long train of mule waggons, and marched from the terminus of the railway at Wellington through Beaufort West and Hopetown to Kimberley, where it arrived on the 30th of June 1875. The orderly portion of the community welcomed the troops after their long march, and no open exhibition of disloyalty was made when on the following morning the leaders of the mutual protection association were arrested and committed to prison. They were put upon their trial for sedition, but

the jury refused to convict them, so they were set free. They thought it well, however, to leave the province, and with their departure quietness was restored.

A very important matter for the consideration of the government was the settlement of disputes regarding the ownership of land in different parts of the province away from the mining areas. There were claims resting on grants from petty Betshuana and Korana captains, from Cornelis Kok, and from Nicholas Waterboer after Mr. Arnot became his advocate, and often these overlapped. Then there were the grants of farms made by the Sovereignty government, thirty-three in number, which could not be disputed, and some of those made by the Free State government, which could be disputed if Waterboer's claim was good.

In March 1872 a commission, consisting of Mr. Francis H. S. Orpen, civil commissioner of Hay and surveyor-general of the province, Mr. P. L. Buyskes, sheriff, and Mr. Thomas Holden Bowker, a gentleman who had assisted in locating the grantees in the division of Queenstown, was appointed to receive, examine, inquire into, and register claims to land in the province, and also to ascertain and report for the governor's information what land should, in their opinion, be set apart for the use and occupation of the coloured inhabitants and for public purposes, such as sites for villages, &c. The first meeting of this commission was held on the 6th of May, and it was the only one Mr. Orpen ever attended, as his other occupations left him no time for this duty.

As soon as Messrs. Buyskes and Bowker entered upon the task they found themselves confronted with a difficulty that they did not know how to overcome. It became evident to them that Waterboer's claim was altogether fictitious as far as the greater part of the province was concerned, and they could not therefore recognise and register grants of land made in his name. Mr. Arnot's claims were the first that came before them. That gentleman submitted grants from Waterboer to himself of the

farm Eskdale, in Albania, on which he resided, fourteen thousand morgen or twenty-nine thousand English acres in extent, a block of thirty-seven farms, each containing three thousand morgen or six thousand three hundred and fifty acres, on the eastern side of the Vaal, a similar block on the western side of that river, and a lot twelve acres in extent at the proposed village of Douglas, all in freehold, and five agricultural allotments at Douglas, each five acres in extent, at a yearly quitrent of £1 for each, altogether very nearly half a million acres of ground. These they declined to admit and register, unless by positive order from the governor to do so, which was not given. Then, after investigation, they felt themselves under the necessity of admitting claims founded on grants by Cornelis Kok, which was equivalent to an admission that the Free State case was well founded. The commission did not complete its work, as Mr. Bowker made use of some offensive expressions concerning what he termed a "big land swindle," when he was displaced, and the attempt to settle the exceedingly complicated question came to an end for the time.

But as everything away from the mines was at a standstill, and must remain so until this matter was arranged, the governor issued instructions that an ordinance should be passed, under the provisions of which a land court could be established. This was not desired on the spot, and difficulty after difficulty was placed in the way until Sir Henry Barkly proceeded to Kimberley and presided in person in the legislative council, when a land settlement ordinance was passed. The governor was determined that a thorough investigation should now be made, which is sufficient proof that down to 1875 he had been deceived by the specious statements made on behalf of Waterboer. When the ordinance was passed he appointed Advocate Stockenstrom, a man of the highest character, judge of the land court, to investigate and determine all claims.

It would not be possible to go more deeply into Griqua history than the land court did as day after day and week

after week documentary and printed testimony was produced and the evidence of all the old people that could be found was patiently listened to and compared. There were men and women still living who as boys and girls had crossed the Orange with the first Griqua emigrants from the Cape Colony, and there were men of other tribes who could corroborate or dispute their testimony. All that could be done by Waterboer's advocates was done, but it failed, for the evidence was overwhelming and indisputable that neither he nor his people ever had any right or property whatever in the territory north of the Modder and east of the Vaal, in which the diamond fields were situated. The captain was found to be half imbecile, to be ignorant of much that had transpired, and, as he himself stated, to have seen only with Mr. Arnot's eyes and to have heard only with Mr. Arnot's ears. The judge was obliged to decide in accordance with justice, and the grants made in Waterboer's name in that part of the territory north of the Modder river were thrown out.

In August 1875 Lieutenant-Governor Southey and the secretary, Mr. John Blades Currey, retired from office, and after a short interval during which the recorder, Mr. Jacob Dirk Barry, acted as local head of the government, Major William Owen Lanyon was appointed administrator. At the same time Colonel Crossman was sent as a special commissioner to examine into and report upon all matters connected with the revenue, expenditure, and liability of the province, with the result that considerable retrenchment in the cost of administration was effected.

Owing to the boundary of Griqualand West being extended by a survey conducted by Mr. Ford, which placed David's Graf nearly as far eastward as the village of Jacobsdal, and moved the terminal point Platberg much higher up the Vaal, thus taking more farms from the Free State, on the 11th of February 1876 the volksraad in extraordinary session empowered President Brand to proceed to London and confer with the authorities there on the subject. On the 13th of

March the president left Bloemfontein, and on his way through the Cape Colony read in the Griqualand West newspapers the judgment of the land court just delivered, which showed Waterboer's claim to be baseless. This decision, the president recognised, as coming from a British court and being based upon overwhelming evidence, must greatly strengthen his case. On his arrival in England he was courteously received by Earl Carnarvon, who was then secretary of state for the colonies. But restoration of the territory was regarded as impossible, as vested interests had grown up, the European inhabitants had become almost exclusively British, and it seemed necessary that the predominant power in South Africa should be in possession of the diamond fields. As that could not be done, after several interviews and a good deal of correspondence, a proposal was made by Sir Donald Currie, whose assistance in the negotiations had been requested, which was agreed to by Earl Carnarvon and President Brand: to restore a few farms that could be cut out of the border without affecting the diamond fields, and to pay to the republic £90,000 as a solatium, with £15,000 more in case of a railway being constructed within five years.

On the 13th of July 1876 an agreement to this effect was concluded, subject to its ratification by the volksraad. The president returned to South Africa, and called the volksraad together in extraordinary session on the 7th of December, when he laid the whole circumstances before the members and expressed himself strongly in favour of the arrangement as restoring harmony and friendship with the British government and people. But the discussion which followed shows that it was only owing to his personal influence that the agreement was ratified on the 11th of December, and many of the members declared that a sense of what they believed to be the injustice done remained as strong in their minds as ever.

No one at this time, except Mr. Arnot, seems to have realised the importance to the British possessions of securing

this territory as a way to the interior of the continent. Its value was believed to consist in its diamond mines, and neither Earl Carnarvon nor any other British minister of the day desired to possess a hectare of territory beyond it. The Keate award had thrown a great part of the country to the north into the utmost confusion, and it would have been an act of mercy to the Bantu there to have extended British authority over it, but the imperial government had no desire to do anything of the kind. "Wait a bit," said Mr. Arnot, "they will have to do it." It is but fair to him to say that he was at this time the most advanced imperialist in South Africa, really caring less for his own interests—despite appearances—than for the extension of British rule. He regarded the republics with intense hatred, and thought any means justifiable that would humiliate and eventually destroy them. His unscrupulousness was not inferior to that of Frederick the Great of Prussia, and he rather prided himself upon it than denied it. To him, favoured by exceptional circumstances such as seldom occur, is due the acquisition of Griqualand West and the manner in which it was brought about.

The dispute with the Free State being now settled, the parliament of the Cape Colony felt itself at liberty to take steps for the annexation of the province, and in the session which opened on the 25th of May and closed on the 8th of August 1877 Mr. Molteno, the prime minister, brought in a bill for the purpose. He had gone to England at the desire of the parliament to try to assist Earl Carnarvon in arranging matters with the Free State, and had there agreed to relieve the imperial authorities of responsibility for the province by incorporating it in the Cape Colony. By the bill the province as a whole was to return one member to the legislative council, and for the purpose of representation in the house of assembly was to be formed into two electoral divisions, Kimberley and Barkly, each division to return two members. The high court of Griqualand, presided over by a judge termed the recorder, was to be retained, and to stand in the

same relation to the supreme court of the Cape Colony as the court of the eastern districts. The supreme court was made to consist of a chief justice and five puisne judges, instead of four as previously, the additional judge being the recorder of Griqualand. The registry of deeds was also to be retained.

On the 6th of June the second reading of the bill was moved by Mr. Molteno in the house of assembly. He stated that it was in accordance with an arrangement made by him with the secretary of state for the colonies, but did not give any particulars as to the condition of the province.

Mr. Richard Southey, who then represented Grahamstown in the assembly, objected on the ground that the people of the province had not been consulted and that no information on its finances had been supplied. He was very feebly supported, however, and after a short discussion the bill was passed without a division.

On the 4th of July the house went into committee, when Mr. J. Paterson, supported by Mr. Southey, endeavoured to secure three members for the province in the legislative council, and Mr. C. A. Fairbridge, supported by Mr. T. Barry, endeavoured to secure two. Mr. J. G. Sprigg was also in favour of a larger number of representatives than the bill provided, but the clause as it stood was confirmed by twenty-nine votes to twenty-five. There was hardly any other objection made, and as some two thousand residents in the province petitioned for annexation and no petitions were received against it, the bill easily went through both houses, the third reading in the legislative council taking place on the 27th of July. In April of the following year it received the royal assent, but, owing to a change of ministry in the Cape Colony, it was not proclaimed in force until three years later.

The diamond fields had by this time lost a very large proportion of their former population. Individual diggers could no longer work claims successfully, and companies were rapidly taking their place. This movement was

accelerated by an ordinance passed by the local council in November 1876, rescinding the one which prevented any individual or company from holding more than ten claims. All the rough work was now performed by black labourers, and it was estimated that in the whole province there were not more than from six to seven thousand white people, with perhaps four times that number of blacks. The penalties against illicit diamond buying were greatly increased by an ordinance passed in 1877, but the crime was as rife as ever, though from the changed conditions in mining riots no longer took place.

By another act passed in the session of 1877 the debt of the province, which then amounted to £175,000, was taken over by the Cape government. The items were £90,000 to the Orange Free State for the settlement of all disputes as to boundaries, £20,000 to the imperial government to repay the cost of the transport of the troops in 1875, and £65,000 for money borrowed.

Small as the number of Europeans had become, the majority of them objected to the loss of autonomy, and desired to retain a local government under a federal system. The scheme seems absurd now, the disproportion between the Cape Colony and Griqualand West being enormous; but Earl Carnarvon, who was desirous of bringing about the federation of all the colonies and states in South Africa, favoured it as a commencement and as opening a door for more important communities to enter. Therefore, though he was anxious to get rid of responsibility for Griqualand West, he did not press the Cape government to enforce the annexation act passed by the parliament until the question of confederation should be settled.

In 1878 the province was disturbed by a rebellion of the Griquas, Koranas, and Betshuana who occupied the western and northern portions of it. The Griquas had consented to Mr. Arnot's proposals in earlier years with a shadowy idea of some benefit that would accrue to them, they could not tell in what way or form, if they would become British

subjects. They had waited seven years, and now found themselves paupers. Under the government of Waterboer they could not sell the land on which they lived: as soon as they became British subjects the restriction was removed, and speculators went in who obtained their ground for the merest trifle. They had foolishly thought they could acquire other land by simply moving to some unoccupied spot and asking the government for it, and now they found that privilege had ceased. Thoughtless and improvident, they had succumbed to the temptations placed in their way by traders, had got into debt, and been deprived of their moveable property by judgments in the magistrate's court. The protection afforded in former times by the very insecurity in which they lived, which prevented traders from giving them credit, was gone, the reign of law had set in, and the Griquas became impoverished under it. The captain Nicholas Waterboer was allowed an annuity of £1,000 for life, but he had become addicted to the use of strong drink, and with so much money at his disposal was often in a miserable condition.

The Batlapin and Batlaro had been sullen and discontented ever since the issue of the proclamation that made them British subjects under the pretence that they were living in Waterboer's country. Many of them, among others a large section of the clan under the Christian chief Jantje, son of Mothibi, whose kraal was at Likhatlong, had moved out of the province, declaring they would rather leave their homes than abide by any arrangement regarding them made by a petty Griqua captain with whom they had no connection. Jantje took up his residence at a place named Manyiding, not far from Kuruman mission station, where those of his people who accompanied him built a new kraal. The open country between the Vaal river and the northern boundary of Griqualand West was now treated as crown land, and the Betshuana and Koranas could no longer move about in it and settle down wherever and whenever they chose. At the same time, it is true that the government had

acted liberally by all these people, and had set apart no less than a million acres of ground as locations for their exclusive use.

Apart from any special causes for discontent, there was at this time a feeling of unrest among many of the coloured tribes in South Africa. The Xosas were at war with the Cape Colony, and their emissaries were busy trying to induce other tribes to join in a general rising against the Europeans. One of them, a man educated at a mission school too, was particularly active in Griqualand West. The accounts of Xosa successes that were put in circulation were perfectly ridiculous, still they were believed by the ignorant blacks who sympathised with the opponents of the white man. On the northern border of the Cape Colony the Koranas were again causing trouble, and these people were in close contact with the inhabitants of the lower part of the province.

Then nearly every black man in the country had now a gun in his possession. When nothing else would induce the Bantu to work at the diamond fields, the prospect of getting guns did, and they were acquired there in great numbers. In the hands of an untrained barbarian a gun is perhaps no more destructive a weapon than an assagai or a battle-axe, but it certainly makes him more inclined to war. And the coloured inhabitants of Griqualand West had for many years been accustomed to their use, some of them had been expert hunters, and one with another they were as well trained as the recent European colonists.

In January a band of volunteers one hundred and twenty strong, called the Diamond Fields Horse, left Kimberley under command of Colonel Charles Warren, to assist the Cape Colony in the war with the Xosas, and performed excellent service after their arrival at the Kei. Just after they left, the Batlapin chief Botlasitsi, son of Gasibone, whose kraal was at Pokwane, just beyond the border, was called upon to pay five hundred head of cattle for causing a disturbance. Some Europeans had obtained farms in his

neighbourhood, within the border, and he had taken their cattle and threatened them with forcible expulsion if they would not withdraw of their own accord. He would not admit that Waterboer had any right to give away land along the Hart river. He refused to pay the cattle demanded, so Major Lanyon raised a force of two hundred white men and a number of blacks, and on the 21st of January 1878 left Kimberley to punish him. On the 24th the expedition arrived at Pokwane, and found the Batlapin apparently prepared to resist. Major Lanyon made ready to attack, but just as he was about to close in Botlasitsi's men abandoned the place and fled, leaving their cattle behind them. The expedition then took possession of six hundred and fifty head, and returned to Kimberley.

On the 21st of April Mr. H. B. Roper, magistrate of Hay, reported that disturbances had occurred at Prieska, south of the Orange river, and that the Koranas and Betshuana in his neighbourhood had risen in arms. Major Lanyon immediately called for volunteers, and on the 24th left Kimberley for Koegas at the head of seventy men, increased to two hundred and twenty on the march. Upon his arrival at Koegas he opened communications with Donker Malgas, who was the principal leader of the insurgents, and demanded that they should lay down their arms at once. This was refused, and Major Lanyon therefore prepared to attack them in the Langebergen. He had hardly set out from Koegas for this purpose, however, when he fell into an ambush, and several volleys were poured into his force by the insurgents, by which one man was killed and several were wounded. He then fell back to Koegas, where he formed a camp, and sent to Kimberley for reinforcements and guns.

This temporary repulse encouraged the Griquas to rise. They laid siege to Griquatown, where the few white people living in the district had taken refuge, who were determined to hold the place to the last extremity. They managed to convey intelligence of their danger to Major

Lanyon, and two hundred men were at once sent from Koegas to their relief, on whose approach the rebels retired, but on the 21st of May they were encountered at Jackalsfontein, near Griquatown, when twenty-five or thirty of them were killed and the others dispersed.

On the 31st of May at Daniel's Kuil, in another part of the province, an Englishman named John Burness, who held a commission as justice of the peace, his wife, and his brother James Burness were attacked and murdered by a party of insurgents.

The force under Major Lanyon at Koegas was constantly being increased by the arrival of volunteers, and some field guns had been obtained, so on the 5th of June Donker Malgas's stronghold in the Langeberg was attacked, and after severe fighting was taken. Fifty-two rebels were killed, but the others managed to escape. On this occasion some two thousand sheep and goats and a few horned cattle were captured. Six days later the insurgents were again attacked at a place close by which they had fortified roughly, and were again driven away with heavy loss. Major Lanyon, believing that the rebels would not make another stand, now returned to Kimberley, leaving, as he thought, the pursuit and capture of the fugitives to Colonel Warren and Captain Loftus Rolleston, who had returned to the province with the diamond fields horse.

On the 9th of June Colonel Warren attacked a party of rebels at Withuis Kloof in the Campbell mountains, killed thirty-one of them, and captured a good many cattle. On the 15th, 18th, and 22nd of June there were engagements with the insurgents in different parts of the province, in each of which they were defeated and suffered heavy loss. In the last of these Captain George Back with thirty men of the border police surprised a band making a raid from the islands in the Orange river, killed twenty-five of them, and made thirty-eight prisoners.

About seven hundred volunteers, police, and others were now in the field, so ultimate success was felt to be certain,

and it was considered expedient to send an expedition for the relief of Kuruman mission station, which was threatened with destruction by the Batlapin and Batlaro.

When the Burness family were murdered at Daniel's Kuil, the white people at Kuruman realised that they also were in danger. The brothers Burness were known to have always treated the blacks with exceptional kindness, and to have had so much confidence in the Batlapin living near them that they remained at their dwelling when all the other Europeans in the district retired to Barkly or Kimberley for safety. As they had been murdered by the people they trusted, the residents at Kuruman might expect the same fate. Some of the converts informed the missionaries that the chiefs had resolved to kill all the Europeans they could lay hold of, so the traders and other white people at the place took refuge in the Moffat institution building, and sent a message to Kimberley informing the administrator of the position they were in. That their fears were not groundless was proved by the fact that the Batlaro under the chief Morwe, aided by the Batlapin under Botlasitsi and Luka, son of Jantje, plundered the station, though they did not attack the building in which the white men were prepared to defend themselves.

The advance party of the relief expedition, under Commandant Ford, crossed the border on the 6th of July, and about ten miles or sixteen kilometres beyond found a strong body of Batlapin warriors occupying a hill. These they dispersed, but at a loss to themselves of five men killed and the same number wounded. On the following day a body of Luka's and Morwe's men was dispersed, when twenty of them were killed. On the 9th Commandant Ford reached Kuruman, and a few days later was followed by Colonel Warren and Major Lanyon, each with a band of volunteers. The clans that had been threatening Kuruman withdrew to Gomaperi, twenty-five miles or forty kilometres distant, where they were attacked on the 16th of July and defeated with a loss of nearly fifty men.

The official returns to this date show that on the European side since the commencement of hostilities twenty-three men were killed and thirty wounded, not a large number compared with the loss of the opposing party.

It was now resolved to attack the hostile clans who were occupying Litakong or Lithako, the Lattakoo of Campbell and other travellers in the early years of the century, a place about six miles or 9·6 kilometres from the mission station Motito. Owing to the rough stone walls from which the place has its name, that were built by some clan whose existence has long been forgotten, the position was a strong one for defence, and the Batlapin and Batlaro had done what they could to improve it. On the 24th of July it was taken by storm, with a loss of three Englishmen and two Zulus killed on the side of the attacking party, and of over a hundred on the side of the defenders. The spoil that fell into the hands of the victors was considerable, consisting of about three thousand head of cattle, sixty-seven waggons, a number of new karosses, and a quantity of ostrich feathers.

It was supposed that the hostile Batlapin and Batlaro were by this time sufficiently humbled, and that Kuruman was safe, still it was thought prudent not to retire hastily. On the 9th of August a resident of Kuruman, named William Chapman, who imprudently strolled to some distance, was murdered, which was taken as evidence that matters had not settled down. The volunteers therefore remained until the middle of August, when they set their faces homeward, and on the 19th Colonel Warren and Major Lanyon reached Kimberley again.

During their absence there had not been much disturbance in the province. Towards morning of the 30th of June a band of Griquas and Batlapin attacked the hamlet of Campbell, but were kept at bay till sunrise, when they were easily put to flight. On the 18th of July a respectable trader named Francis Thompson was murdered at Cornforth Hill, one of his sons was assaulted and wounded

in an atrocious manner, and his store was plundered and burned. Twenty-five men were subsequently arrested and charged with this crime, but it was impossible to prove their guilt, and they were acquitted.

Colonel Warren with a strong patrol now proceeded through the province in search of the insurgents still under arms, but found none until the 11th of October, when the remnants of the Griqua and other clans were encountered at Mokolokwe's stronghold in the Langebergen. There was fighting for several days, during which one white man was killed, but the place was cleared at length, and the wretched conflict within the province was over. Until the end of the month, however, the volunteers were kept busy patrolling and making prisoners of noted rebels, so that some four hundred men were finally placed in confinement at Kimberley.

On the 15th of November a general amnesty was proclaimed by Major Lanyon, from which were excepted only rebels who had been in receipt of government pay, the leading insurgents, and those suspected of having committed murder. The whole of the blacks were disarmed, and then the prisoners were gradually set at liberty, until none remained in confinement except four of the ringleaders and those who were suspected of being the actual murderers of Messrs. Burness and Thompson.

To overawe the clans between the northern border of Griqualand West and the Molopo river, some of whom had been openly hostile and all of whom were believed to have sympathised with the insurgents, Colonel Warren with a band of volunteers marched through the country, and visited every kraal of importance in it. On his approach Botlasitsi with some of his followers fled to Taung, where the Batlapin chief Mankoroane gave him shelter. Colonel Warren demanded his delivery, and after some pressure, on the 25th of November Mankoroane surrendered him, his sons, and his brothers, who were sent to Kimberley and confined there as prisoners of state. All the chiefs in the territory professed

submission and offered to become British subjects, so the expedition, having nothing more to do, returned to Kimberley, where it arrived on the 1st of January 1879.

The disturbance had been quelled by local forces, with the aid of only three or four imperial officers, but the cost to the province had been £101,841.

In March 1879 Major Lanyon was removed to a more important office, and his successors only held acting appointments. The last of these was Mr. James Rose Innes, who assumed duty in December 1879.

On the 31st of July 1879 a debate on the delay in proclaiming the annexation act of 1877 took place in the house of assembly of the Cape Colony. Many members were of opinion that it should either be repealed or promulgated at once, rather than be kept in suspense any longer. The debt of the province had increased greatly since it was passed, and its financial arrangements, they thought, should be brought under the control of parliament without further delay if the territory was to be annexed at all. The prime minister, however, gained time by announcing his intention of visiting the province and ascertaining the condition of things there by personal observation. He was in favour of confederation, as opposed to unification of the different South African communities.

In October of the same year he and Attorney-General Upington proceeded to Kimberley, where the majority of the residents were found opposed to annexation, though not violently so. A subject that occupied their attention more fully was that of railway communication with the seaboard, which the prime minister informed them could not be considered until the other was settled.

In 1880 the confederation proposals of Earl Carnarvon were subjects of the past, the Cape Colony and the Orange Free State would have nothing to do with them, and there was no reason any longer to defer putting the annexation act of 1877 in force. Still the elected members of the legislative council of Griqualand West raised their voices against it. In

June 1880 the matter was discussed, when Dr. J. W. Matthews, one of the members for Kimberley, moved, and Mr. J. Paddon, member for Barkly, seconded :

“That in the opinion of this council the annexation by proclamation or otherwise of the province of Griqualand West to the Cape Colony would be detrimental to the best interests of the province and opposed to the wishes of the inhabitants.”

Upon which the attorney-general moved and the treasurer seconded :

“That in the absence of any public expression of opinion on the subject it is presumptuous and unreasonable to ask this council to commit itself to the terms of the resolution, which is based upon the assumption that such opinion has been expressed.”

The official and the elected members were equal in number, so the voting for each resolution was the same, but the last was carried by the casting vote of the chairman.

The council met for the last time on the 30th of September.

On the 15th of October 1880 a proclamation was issued at Capetown by Sir George Cumine Strahan, who was then acting as administrator of the government, giving effect from that day to the act No. 39 of 1877, providing for the annexation of Griqualand West to the Cape Colony.

CHAPTER LXXXI.

EVENTS IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN REPUBLIC FROM 1858 TO 1864.

EARLY in 1858, when the Basuto chief was endeavouring to draw the Free State into war, the Bamapela, one of the clans that had risen in Zoutpansberg in 1854, took up arms again. There is no direct proof of any kind to connect Moshesh with this revolt. But when a recurring event is always accompanied by the same phenomena, it is not unreasonable to conclude that there is a connection between them, though that connection cannot always be explained or proved. So in the case of these outbreaks. They are always found occurring just when it was to Moshesh's advantage that they should occur, and hence the chief of the mountain has been generally suspected of having instigated them.

The outbreak began in the usual manner, by the murder of a party of Europeans and the seizure of their property. But it was speedily suppressed. Commandant-General Schoeman called out a strong force, upon which the best fighting men among the marauders retired to a fortified hill. The surrounding country was scoured, a great many of the blacks were killed, and a good deal of stock was secured. On the 14th of April 1858 Commandant Paul Kruger's division took the stronghold by storm. The enemy rolled large stones down upon the advancing force and kept up a heavy fire, so that a good many burghers were wounded, though only one—Philip Minnaar by name—was killed. With the capture of this hill the revolt was crushed, and the commando soon afterwards retired. In the campaign the Bamapela lost about eight hundred men.

The laws relating to the treatment of Bantu tribes living within the territory of the South African Republic underwent several changes in 1858. In 1853 the sale of ammunition to these people had been prohibited under penalties ranging from death to confiscation of all property. The punishment for this offence was now changed to a fine of £500, or imprisonment, or confiscation of property, according to the judgment of the courts of justice. Traders and travellers were prohibited from having on their waggons more than forty pounds (18·144 kilogrammes) of gunpowder and double that weight of lead.

Traffic in indentures of coloured children was forbidden under penalty of a fine of £100 to £500.

In 1853 it was enacted that the commandants could allot locations to coloured people, which were to be considered as leases to be held as long as the occupants should conduct themselves properly. The new laws provided that the landdrosts of the different districts should assign locations to the coloured people, which should be clearly defined, and should be regarded as given to them for use during peaceable behaviour, but not as alienable property. In these locations the coloured people were to be under the government of their own chiefs or captains, and were to be protected from molestation by other clans or by white people. They were not to be permitted to form alliances with other tribes, or to possess munitions of war or horses. They were to be under the dominion of the republic, and those capable of performing service were liable to be called upon for aid in war. Trade with them was permitted under a few necessary restrictions.

Contracts with coloured people could only be made with the sanction of a fieldcornet. Those who were not under any recognised captain were obliged to take service with the farmers, but were to be well treated, and no spirituous liquor was to be sold to them without leave of their masters. No missionaries were to be permitted to reside in the locations without first obtaining the consent of the fieldcornet

of the ward, who was required to consult the executive council of the republic before giving it.

Some important alterations were at the same time made in the general laws. It was now provided that persons of any creed could vote at elections, but only members of the Dutch Reformed church were to be eligible to hold public offices. The landdrosts were to be appointed by the executive council, but the inhabitants of the districts to which they were sent could reject them at any time within two months after their arrival. The fieldcornets and assistant fieldcornets were still to be elected by the white inhabitants of the wards. Their term of office was limited to five years.

In February 1858 a coat of arms for the republic was adopted by the volksraad. It displayed a waggon and a golden anchor on a silver shield, with an eagle above, on the right side an armed farmer of the period, and on the left side a lion.

Ecclesiastical disputes were still rife, and towards the close of this year a new controversy arose. The same society in the Netherlands that had sent out the reverend Mr. Van der Hoff—who was before this date the only clergyman north of the Vaal—now sent out another minister, named Van Heiningen, who went to reside at Lydenburg. This clergyman and his consistory were in favour of union with the synod of the Dutch Reformed church in the Cape Colony, while Mr. Van der Hoff and his consistory were desirous of separation of church as well as state.

With the reverend Mr. Van Heiningen there came also from the Netherlands a clergyman named Postma, who had previously been minister of a congregation of the Separatist Reformed church at Zwolle, and who was sent out by the synod of that body. In November 1858 he became clergyman of Rustenburg. Mr. Postma held, with the Separatist church of the Netherlands, that the use in public worship of hymns which were not paraphrases of scripture was improper. In the method of conducting services he differed

in a few small matters from his fellow clergymen, but the question of the use of hymns was the one upon which the controversy arose.

With a view of trying to restore concord, the government convened a general church assembly, which met at Potchefstroom on the 26th of April 1859, and continued in session for five days. The three clergymen of the country north of the Vaal—the reverend Mr. Van der Hoff, of Potchefstroom, the reverend Mr. Van Heiningen, of Lydenburg, and the reverend Mr. Postma, of Rustenburg—with the elders of their churches were present. In addition, the reverend Mr. Louw, of Fauresmith in the Free State, and the reverend Mr. Hofmeyr, of Colesberg in the Cape Colony, had been invited to assist, and took part in the proceedings.

The first question to be decided was whether the congregation represented by Mr. Postma and its elders was part of the Dutch Reformed church, or not. According to the twentieth article of the constitution that was the state church, and if Mr. Postma did not belong to it he could not be admitted as a clergyman. The assembly decided that its profession of faith agreed with that of the Dutch Reformed church, and it therefore fulfilled the conditions of the twentieth article of the constitution.

As a basis of concord, it was next resolved that each clergyman should be at liberty to use the hymns generally received, or not, according to the views of his congregation.

To prevent further strife by keeping out of the country persons with a tendency to innovations, a complete revolution was effected. A majority resolved that no clergyman should be eligible to accept the call of a congregation in the South African Republic unless his credentials were confirmed by the Cape synod and he was approved of by the general church assembly.

Lastly, the reverend Mr. Postma was recognised as clergyman of Rustenburg, under condition that the ministers of Potchefstroom and Lydenburg should from time to time visit that congregation.

On the 1st of August 1859 Mr. Postma's consistory notified that it rejected the resolutions adopted at Potchefstroom in April. It declared its determination to use in public worship only the psalms and paraphrases of scripture which were put in rhyme in the Netherlands in 1773. It asserted its conviction that the confirmation of credentials of clergymen by the Cape synod was unnecessary, unsafe, even dangerous to an independent state. And it rejected entirely the interference of the clergymen of Potchefstroom and Lydenburg. It expressed a wish for union, but proposed no concessions.

From that date the Separatist Reformed church has existed as an independent body in the South African Republic. A little later the second congregation of this communion was formed at Vlaktefontein in the Orange Free State. In February 1861 the church place there took the name of Reddersburg, and in November of that year the reverend Mr. Beyer arrived from Holland and became the first resident minister. Next a congregation was established at Burghersdorp in the Cape Colony, where a theological seminary has since been founded. In various places elsewhere congregations have in later years been formed, and the Separatist church is now a large and influential body in many parts of South Africa. It is thoroughly orthodox in its creed, and very closely resembles the church of the Scotch covenanters of bygone days. By those in South Africa not of its communion it is commonly called the Dopper church.

On the 13th of September 1859 the general assembly of the state church came together at Pretoria, and unanimously resolved to unite with the Cape synod. Since 1862, however, owing to a decision of the supreme court of the Cape Colony, no clergymen or elders from territories beyond the colonial boundary can have seats in the colonial synod.

In 1859 Commandant Jan Kock, whose name was famous in the early days of the Sovereignty but who had since been almost forgotten, came into notice again. On the 8th

of July of that year he issued from Potchefstroom a proclamation in the name and by authority of Commandant-General Stephanus Schoeman, in which he announced to the inhabitants of that part of the Free State which lies between the Vet and Vaal rivers that the territory occupied by them once belonged to Hendrik Potgieter, that Schoeman was Potgieter's successor, and that they could at any time claim protection from Schoeman. The proclamation was a revival of the old Winburg claim to be united with Potgieter's party north of the Vaal, and an invitation to the burghers of the territory between the Vet and the Vaal to rebel against the Free State government.

On the 13th of July Mr. H. Jeppe, acting state attorney of the South African Republic, issued a protest against Kock's proclamation as calculated to disturb the peace. Kock thereupon, on the 28th, published in the *State Gazette* a protest against Mr. Jeppe's protest. President Pretorius was at the time absent on a visit to Zululand, and Mr. H. S. Lombard was acting in his stead. He caused the whole issue of the *State Gazette* to be suppressed, and on the 2nd of August published a proclamation that the government would strictly adhere to articles 4 and 27 of the constitution and prosecute all who should disregard them. The last of these had recently been modified, by giving power to the volksraad that had formerly been reserved to the people in primary assembly. As they stood then in the constitution, these articles were:—

4. The people desire no extension of territory, and will allow of none except upon just principles when the interests of the republic make such extension advisable.

27. No treaty or alliance with foreign powers or people may be proposed, received, or concluded, except after the volksraad has been called together by the president and the members of the executive council for the purpose of making known its views thereupon, and the proposal shall be approved of and confirmed or shall be rejected according to the decision of the members of the volksraad.

This event is hardly worthy of notice, except as an indication of the spirit of discord that existed in the republic. Kock had numerous partisans, though they did not choose

to rally round him on this occasion, and so his object was not attained. He was brought to trial and fined £37 10s. for the attempt to disturb the peace of the country.

On the 11th of September 1857 the volksraad of the South African Republic decided to send an invitation to Lydenburg to come to a reconciliation in ecclesiastical and political matters. The invitation was forwarded by President Pretorius, but it did not meet with immediate response. Early in 1859, however, the Lydenburg people considered the matter favourably, and the members of the executive councils of the two republics had a meeting and arranged a basis of union. President Pretorius then convened the volksraad, which met at Potchefstroom in special session on the 2nd of May 1859. Fourteen members were present. A report of the proceedings, including the basis of agreement, was laid before them. They expressed gratification at the prospect of union, but instead of confirming the provisional agreement, instructed the executive to publish it in the *Gazette* in order that the opinion of the public at large might be expressed. They directed the president to bring the matter up again at the next ordinary session, and they then returned to their homes.

Though the union was not legally completed, all public acts were henceforth based on the assumption that what remained to be done was only formal. Shortly after the close of the session President Pretorius visited Zululand and had a friendly interview with the chief Panda. At Utrecht he established provisionally a court of landdrost and heemraden, and also at a place which thereafter took the name of Marthinus-Wessel-Stroom, the district of which it was the seat of magistracy being termed Wakkerstroom. In September 1859 the volksraad approved of these acts.

The territory comprised in the district of Wakkerstroom was south of the Vaal, and in name once formed part of the Orange River Sovereignty, though no actual jurisdiction was exercised over it. In June 1854 a commission was sent from the Free State to confer on several matters with the

volksraad then in session at Rustenburg. The volksraad claimed, as the southern boundary of the territory to which the convention of 1852 applied, the Klip river from its source to its junction with the Vaal, and thence the last-named stream, the Klip river being the one running through Zeekoevlei. The Free State made no objection to this at the time, nor did it protest against the formation of the district of Wakkerstroom by the volksraad of the South African Republic in 1859.

On the 25th of April 1860 Mr. J. H. Grobbelaar, then acting president of the South African Republic, issued a proclamation defining the Klip river as a boundary, and a commission which was sent from Bloemfontein to confer with him and the executive council made no opposition, but even proposed that the boundary question should be brought before the volksraads of both countries with a view of Klip River being approved of. On the 14th of February 1862, however, the volksraad of the Orange Free State declared that the upper Vaal river was the boundary, and appointed a commission to erect a beacon at the source of the stream. At the same time a guarantee was given that the rights of individuals in the district of Wakkerstroom would not be disturbed. Negotiations between the two republics and resolutions adopted by the volksraads on various occasions failed to effect an amicable settlement of the dispute, but the district remained in fact a portion of the northern state.

There was a party, principally residents in the district of Potchefstroom, opposed to the union of Lydenburg with the South African Republic. They used no other arguments, however, than those which originated in the old quarrel between the adherents of Andries Pretorius and Hendrik Potgieter, and they were a decided minority.

On the 3rd of April 1860 representatives of the two republics met at Pretoria. There were present fifteen members of the volksraad of the districts Potchefstroom, Rustenburg, Pretoria, and Zoutpansberg, forming the South African

Republic, and twelve members of the volksraad of the districts Lydenburg and Utrecht, forming the Republic of Lydenburg. On the following day the articles of union were ratified.

The constitution, flag, and coat of arms of the South African Republic were adopted by the united state. The districts forming the Republic of Lydenburg retained a council to make purely local laws, but such laws were to be submitted for the approval of the executive council and the volksraad. They were to be entitled to choose two members of the executive council, and to be represented in the volksraad by nine members. Their church was not to be forced into uniformity with the others. They were to retain their own commandant-general for a time.

Pretoria was chosen as the seat of government, and the heads of departments were to be stationed there within two months.

One of the articles of agreement rescinded the sentence of banishment passed by the landdrost of Potchefstroom against Mr. J. A. Smellekamp in June 1854, and required the fine of £37 10s., imposed by the volksraad in June of that year, to be repaid to him.

In October 1859 the volksraad resolved to found a village on the watershed between Klipspruit and the highest eastern branch of the Olifants river. The resolution was carried into effect shortly afterwards. The village was called Nazareth until 1874, when the name was changed to Middelburg, by which it has since been known.

On the 2nd of February 1860 President Pretorius obtained from the volksraad of the South African Republic six months leave of absence. He had been elected president of the Orange Free State, and his partisans hoped that within the six months a plan of union would be devised. But after his departure from Potchefstroom, and particularly after the union with Lydenburg, the opinions of many people north of the Vaal underwent a change. The old enmity of the Lydenburg faction had a great deal to do with it. They

were jealous of the younger Pretorius, as they had been of his father, and they felt little inclination to aid in augmenting his dignity. They began to argue that union would confer much greater advantages on the Free State than on them. Shutting their eyes to the masses of barbarians on their northern and eastern borders, they spoke of Moshesh as if he was the only chief whose power was to be feared, and as if the object of the unionist party in the Free State was the purely selfish one of getting assistance to deal with him.

Hostility to Mr. Pretorius was clearly exhibited by the volksraad immediately after the union with Lydenburg. A resolution was carried that he must perform no duties north of the Vaal during the six months, in other words that he must not interfere in any way with matters there, and that on the expiration of his leave he must give an account of his proceedings. Mr. Schubart, the state secretary, was dismissed for having accompanied him to Bloemfontein, and Mr. J. H. Struben was appointed to that office.

The leave would expire on the 2nd of August. On the 28th of July the volksraad of the Free State resolved to send a commission to Pretoria to ask for an extension of the term, as the services of Mr. Pretorius could not then be dispensed with. They desired more time to devise a plan of union. They gave the president three months leave from the Free State, and on the same day he left for Potchefstroom.

On the 10th of September the volksraad of the South African Republic met at Pretoria. Mr. Cornelis Potgieter, landdrost of Lydenburg, was its leading spirit. The Free State commission was present, but met with a cooler reception than had been anticipated. Mr. Pretorius appeared, in conformity with the resolution passed in April, and offered to make a statement. It was provided in the constitution that the president during his tenure of office should follow no other occupation. The volksraad took advantage of this, decided that it was illegal for any one to be president of the South African Republic and of the Orange Free State at the

same time, and called upon Mr. Pretorius to resign one office or the other. There was a warm controversy, at the close of which Mr. Pretorius resigned the office of president of the South African Republic. Mr. J. H. Grobbelaar, who had been acting president since the 2nd of February, was requested by the volksraad to continue in office.

The partisans of Mr. Pretorius hereupon resolved to resist. A mass meeting was held at Potchefstroom on the 8th and 9th of October. Mr. Pretorius was there, and with him was his former adversary Stephanus Schoeman, who now professed to be one of his staunchest adherents. The meeting resolved almost unanimously:

(a) That the volksraad no longer enjoyed its confidence, and must be held as having ceased to exist.

(b) That Mr. Pretorius should remain president of the South African Republic, and have a year's leave of absence in order to bring about union with the Free State.

(c) That Mr. Stephanus Schoeman should act as president during the absence of Mr. Pretorius, and Mr. Grobbelaar be dismissed.

(d) That Mr. Struben should be dismissed as state secretary, and Mr. Schubart be restored to that office.

(e) That before the return of Mr. Pretorius to resume his duties a new volksraad should be elected.

A committee of five—Messrs. D. Steyn, Preller, Lombard, Spruyt, and Bodenstein—was appointed to see these resolutions carried out. The electors were appealed to, but the voting was so arranged that only a thousand burghers recorded their opinions. Of these, more than seven hundred approved of the resolutions of the Potchefstroom meeting. Thereupon Mr. Schoeman assumed duty as acting president, Mr. Willem Janse van Rensburg became acting commandant-general, and Mr. Philip Coetzer, of Lydenburg, a member of the executive council.

On the 14th of January 1861 the volksraad that had been dissolved by the revolution met at Pretoria on the summons of Acting President Schoeman. He held his office by the

same authority that had dismissed this body, yet so inconsistent and fickle was he that he now acknowledged its legal existence. The council of war of the republic met at Pretoria at the same time, and the committee appointed by the Potchefstroom meeting was there also. Antagonism to the volksraad was so strongly expressed by most of those who were thus drawn together that the majority of the members resigned after a session of a couple of hours.

If the acting president had been a man of sound judgment he would after this at least have let matters rest. Instead of doing so, with his countenance the volksraad came together again under protection of an armed force, and ordered legal proceedings to be instituted against the Potchefstroom committee. On the 13th of February the members of the committee were brought to trial for sedition. The court consisted of two landdrosts, one of whom was Cornelis Potgieter, of Lydenburg, their bitterest political opponent. The accused were found guilty by a jury, when Messrs. Steyn, Preller, Lombard, and Spruyt were sentenced to pay each a fine of £100, and Bodenstein to pay a fine of £15.

This proceeding caused great commotion throughout the republic. A court of twelve members was elected by the people to settle matters, but beyond making some changes in the executive council it did nothing. Then Acting President Schoeman, to support his authority, assembled an armed force, which he placed under the orders of Mr. J. C. Steyn. Upon this, Commandant Paul Kruger, of Rustenburg, called out the burghers of his district, and marched to Pretoria with a determination to drive out Schoeman and establish a better government.

In order to prevent civil war, a number of influential men living in and near Pretoria interposed. At their recommendation, three men were elected from each of the commandos to form a court to decide what should be done, and Mr. M. W. Pretorius was requested to act as its chairman. This court resolved that a new volksraad should be elected, to whose decisions all must bow; that the existing govern-

ment should retain office until the meeting of the new volksraad; that prosecutions for political offences should cease; and that the armed burghers should immediately return to their homes.

These resolutions were acted upon. The commandants disbanded their forces, and at the close of the year 1861 all was again quiet.

The volksraad, elected according to this arrangement, met at Pretoria on the 2nd of April 1862, and continued in session until the 26th of the same month. It decided to dismiss Mr. Schoeman, the members of the executive council, and the heads of departments. It appointed Willem C. Janse van Rensburg acting president until an election could take place, the ballot papers of which were to be sent in before the 13th of October, when it would hold another session. Further it appointed provisionally J. H. Visagie state secretary, J. H. Valckenaar state attorney, M. J. Viljoen, D. Erasmus, and W. Coetzer members of the executive council, and Theunis Snyman commandant-general.

Acting President Schoeman refused to submit to this decision, and a strong party supported him. At Potchefstroom the landdrost, Jan Steyn, declared for him; and when Van Rensburg visited that village, he and the officers whom he tried to appoint were driven away.

For several months there were two acting presidents and two rival governments in the South African Republic. At length Commandant Paul Kruger resolved to put an end to this anarchy. The volksraad had appointed Theunis Snyman, of Pretoria, commandant-general; but this officer volunteered to serve under Kruger. So also did Joseph van Dyk, commandant-general of Lydenburg.

Having driven Schoeman and his adherents from Pretoria, on the 7th of October Commandant Kruger, with a force of between eight hundred and a thousand men, and three pieces of artillery, invested Potchefstroom. Schoeman held the village with between three and four hundred men and one cannon. Fire was opened from Kruger's battery, but as the

object was only to frighten Schoeman into submission, the guns were so directed that during two days of what the villagers were pleased to call "the bombardment," the only damage done was to the gables of a few houses.

On the 9th Schoeman, who was not wanting in courage, made a sudden sortie, in hope of capturing Kruger's artillery. Instead of this, however, he was driven back with the loss of his own cannon and with one man killed and himself and seven others wounded. Kruger's loss was two men wounded. This event disheartened Schoeman's partisans, and that night he and his principal adherents fled into the Free State. President Pretorius, who on the 30th of September had obtained two months leave from the volksraad of the Free State purposely to visit the northern republic and endeavour to restore order, had arrived at Potchefstroom the day after the investment commenced. Not being able to obtain a suspension of hostilities, he accompanied the fugitives over the Vaal.

On the 10th of October Commandant Kruger took possession of Potchefstroom. The council of war issued a proclamation banishing Stephanus Schoeman and the landdrost Steyn from the South African Republic; and Schoeman's principal adherents were fined, Jan Kock among others being sentenced to confiscation of all his property. Kruger then with his whole force marched to Klip River, where it was reported that Schoeman was collecting his adherents again. He left Potchefstroom unprotected. Upon this, Schoeman fairly doubled upon his opponent, for he returned to Potchefstroom and took possession of the village. Some eight hundred men rallied round him there. Kruger hastened back, and the two commandos were ready to fall upon each other when President Pretorius interposed.

Kruger having consented to a discussion of matters, a tent was pitched midway between the two camps, and on the 24th and 25th of November the negotiations were held. Schoeman entrusted his case to President Pretorius and Commandant D. C. Uys, Commandant Paul Kruger and Mr.

S. T. Prinsloo appeared on the other side. They agreed that all sentences of banishment, confiscation, and fines should be suspended, that an election of a president and of a commandant-general should take place as soon as order was restored, that in the meantime the administration appointed by the volksraad should remain in office, and that all criminal charges connected with the disturbances should be submitted to a court created for the purpose, over which Mr. Walter Harding, chief justice of Natal, or, failing his consent, Advocate H. A. L. Hamelberg, of Bloemfontein, was to be requested to preside. The burghers then dispersed.

On the 12th of January 1863 the special court should have opened its session at Pretoria. Instead of that, however, Schoeman with an armed force entrenched himself in the village, and declared that he would not submit to its decisions, as its members were his opponents. Kruger then with a few burghers of his own district marched to protect the court. He formed a camp at a little distance from Pretoria, and called upon the burghers everywhere throughout the republic to join him and establish order. His appeal was responded to, and from all sides men gathered to his standard. Taking only two unarmed burghers with him, he entered Pretoria and announced that he did not wish to shed a drop of blood, but that he was determined to compel all persons to submit to the law. At this, Schoeman's adherents began to waver, and they offered no resistance when Kruger placed a strong guard over the public offices.

On the 19th of January, during a heavy thunderstorm, Schoeman and his principal adherents fled from Pretoria, taking two cannon with them; and as soon as possible they crossed into the Free State. When James II of England fled from his capital, he took the great seal with him, in the silly hope of thereby embarrassing his successor. When Schoeman fled from Pretoria, he carried off the state flag in like manner.

On the 20th of January the special court commenced its session. Both Mr. Harding and Mr. Hamelberg had declined to preside over it, so that it consisted merely of three landdrosts. Each case was decided by a jury of twelve. S. Schoeman, C. F. Preller, and J. C. Steyn, who had all fled from the country, were found guilty of rebellion, were banished, and were sentenced to confiscation of their property. Schoeman's son was banished. Several others had light sentences passed upon them, but a door of reconciliation was left open for all except the leading offenders.

The election for a president and a commandant-general took place shortly after the session of the special court was over. For a president only seven hundred and fourteen votes in all were given. Of these, three hundred and seventy were for W. C. Janse van Rensburg, two hundred and forty-seven for M. W. Pretorius, and ninety-seven were scattered among several others. For a commandant-general only four hundred and eighty-six votes were recorded. Of these, three hundred and eight were for S. J. Paul Kruger, one hundred and thirty-five for Joseph van Dyk, and forty-three were scattered.

On the 20th of May 1863 the volksraad met at Pretoria. Mr. Van Rensburg, in announcing the result of the elections, stated that as so few votes had been given, the decision of the people had clearly not been ascertained. He therefore desired that a fresh election should take place. The volksraad coincided with this view, and passed a resolution that another election should be held, the voting papers to be sent by the landdrosts to the executive council on or before the 1st of October. Mr. Van Rensburg's administration was directed to continue in office until the 12th of October, when the volksraad would meet again.

Petitions were read from the Schoemans, father and son, praying that the sentences passed upon them by the special court might be mitigated. On the intercession of Mr. M. W. Pretorius, it was resolved that they could return to the South African Republic; but the father was declared incap-

able of holding any office and was required to pay a fine of £500, and the son, who was restored to full burgher rights, was to pay £250.

At the appointed time the volksraad met again, when it was announced that in the districts of Potchefstroom, Lydenburg, Zoutpansberg, Rustenburg, Pretoria, Utrecht, and Middelburg, one thousand one hundred and six votes had been given for Mr. Van Rensburg and one thousand and sixty-five for Mr. Pretorius. In Wakkerstroom the proceedings at the election had been very irregular, and many of the ballot papers from that district were thrown out. Mr. Paul Kruger had been elected commandant-general by a clear majority.

On the 24th of October Mr. Van Rensburg took the oath of office as president, but his opponents professed to believe that the ballot papers had been tampered with, and declined to recognise his government.

Commandant Jan Viljoen, of the Marikwa, raised the standard of revolt on this occasion. On the 10th of December 1863 he entered Potchefstroom at the head of an armed force, dismissed the officials, and replaced them with others of his own selection. His force termed itself the Volksleger, the Army of the People. Commandant-General Kruger called out one hundred and fifty men to suppress the rebellion, not knowing that Viljoen's force was as strong as it was afterwards found to be. With this little commando, called the Staatsleger, or Army of the State, he proceeded to Potchefstroom, and encamped outside the village. Then for the first time he became aware of the numbers against him. There were three hundred men in Potchefstroom, and Viljoen with a still stronger force appeared in the rear and cut off his retreat.

Kruger then sent to Viljoen to propose that they two, with two others selected from each side, should go through the republic, call a meeting at each centre of population, and hold another election for a president, binding themselves to abide by the issue. This proposal was rejected. A patrol

from the state army was surrounded and obliged to surrender, when Kruger, seeing the hopelessness of his position, retired across the Vaal, taking with him only an officer named Carel Eloff. Some of his men managed to disperse in different directions, but most of them were obliged to surrender.

The elder Schoeman now arrived at Potchefstroom in expectation of being called to the head of the volksleger, but was disappointed. His wife was with him, and she handed over the state flag, which had been in her keeping since her husband's flight from Pretoria.

On the 23rd of December the volksleger left Potchefstroom and marched towards Pretoria. Before its arrival at this place, the officials fled to Rustenburg, so others were installed by Commandant Viljoen. From Pretoria the volksleger marched towards Rustenburg, but learning on the way that Commandant-General Kruger had returned and was collecting his forces there, Viljoen formed a strong camp where the road crosses the Limpopo river.

From eight to nine hundred men rallied round Kruger, and with them he went to meet Viljoen. Having formed a camp about three miles from that of the volksleger, he advanced with a mere patrol and drew out his opponent. Then retreating to a place where he had posted a strong force, he turned upon his pursuers. A battle followed, 5th of January 1864, in which the volksleger was beaten and compelled to retire to the camp on the Limpopo, but was not reduced either to submit or to disperse. On Kruger's side two men were killed and six or eight were wounded, on Viljoen's side five were killed and about thirty were wounded.

On the following day Mr. M. W. Pretorius arrived from the Free State and offered himself as a mediator. Though he expressed great regret at the course Commandant Viljoen had adopted, the men who composed the volksleger were those who had always been his political supporters and who were then more than ever determined that he should be

their president. By them he was warmly received. Commandant General Kruger agreed to discuss matters once more, and on the 8th of January the representatives of the two armies met to consult upon terms of reconciliation.

The conference lasted six days. On the part of the volksleger the delegates were Messrs. M. W. Pretorius, T. F. J. Steyn, and J. J. Fourie; on the part of the staatsleger they were Messrs. S. J. P. Kruger, S. J. Grobbelaar, and S. T. Prinsloo. They agreed that a new election for a president should be held, for which purpose a commission from each party should proceed to the several districts, call the burghers together, and cause the ballot papers to be signed in their presence; that the existing administration should remain in office until the new president was sworn in; and that to decide all vexed questions a special court should be created, to consist of President Brand of the Free State, Chief Justice Harding of Natal, and Advocate Hamelberg of Bloemfontein.

These terms were submitted to the two commandos on the 15th of January, and were approved of. The burghers were then disbanded, and shortly afterwards Messrs. Kruger and Fourie proceeded to Bloemfontein to request President Brand and Advocate Hamelberg to take seats in the special court. The volksraad of the Free State was in session, and, upon being applied to, made no objection to their acting as desired, provided they did so in an unofficial capacity. None of the gentlemen named, however, would undertake the duty, as the authority upon which they would act was irregular, and there could be no guarantee that their decisions would be carried out.

There were two thousand six hundred and thirty-seven votes recorded at the presidential election. Of these, one thousand five hundred and nineteen were for Marthinus Wessel Pretorius, and one thousand one hundred and eighteen for Willem C. Janse van Rensburg. On the 10th of May 1864 the volksraad met, and Mr. Pretorius took the oaths of office. With this ceremony the civil strife which

had so long agitated the republic ceased. When a little later it was decided that all sentences of banishment, confiscation of property, and fines, which had been passed for political offences should be annulled, and that whatever had been seized should be restored to its original owners, there was a general feeling of satisfaction. With Mr. Pretorius as president and Mr. Kruger as commandant-general working together, the government was sufficiently strong to prevent open rebellion by any disaffected burghers.

The civil strife was over, but the injury it had caused could not easily be repaired. The treasury was empty, salaries were in arrear, taxes of all kinds were outstanding and practically irrecoverable. But this was the smallest item in the account. The republic had lost the confidence of the outside world, no one any longer believed in its stability. The Orange Free State, once so desirous for union, now preferred to stand alone even in the dark shadow of the Basuto power. The most that its citizens spoke of was an offensive and defensive alliance between the two republics, but when that was submitted to their vote in 1861 they took very little interest in it. In their eyes, north of the Vaal order seemed to have perished.

CHAPTER LXXXII.

EVENTS IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN REPUBLIC DURING 1864 AND 1865.

THE discord among the Europeans had been turned to advantage by the coloured people. Several of the tribes on the border and in the mountainous districts of the north had become practically independent. During these years no authority of any kind had been exercised over them, even the labour tax—the only burden to which they had ever been subject, except the trifling tribute demanded of the chiefs as an acknowledgment of their vassalage,—not having been enforced. They had been left to do as they liked, and they could not now be disturbed without a certainty of resistance.

An illicit traffic in guns and ammunition had been carried on to a very large extent by unscrupulous traders who entered the part of the country occupied by the Bangwaketse, Bakwena, and Bamangwato tribes by the road nearest the Kalahari, where they were almost unobserved. They usually combined hunting with trading, and the life they led had strong attractions for young men of adventurous disposition. The guns which they introduced were mostly muskets of the cheapest variety, but sometimes they parted with good rifles, and the Betshuana and Bavenda, particularly men who accompanied the hunters, soon became expert in their use.

A law had been passed by the volksraad in 1858, restricting elephant hunting to the season from 15th of June to 15th of October in every year, and prohibiting the employment of Bantu as hunters unless accompanied by

Europeans. The number of blacks was restricted to two for each white man, and they were required to be contracted for the purpose before a landdrost, who was to keep a register of all such engagements. But this law was inoperative from the first, because there were no police to enforce it, and the rough, Dutch-speaking borderers ignored it as completely as did the English hunters. They employed large bands of blacks to hunt for them, whom they trained to become good marksmen. The possession of firearms always has the effect of making a Bantu community intractable, whether they can do more damage with them than with their ancient weapons or not, and now the farmers found the tribes within their borders inclined to throw off all restraints. The guns used by the Europeans in the republic were still large, clumsy muzzle loaders, which needed to be placed on a rest to secure good aim, so that in the matter of weapons the old superiority of the white man had disappeared.

The terms of peace concluded with the Batlapin chief Mahura on the 18th of August 1858 had never been completed. The amount of damages and costs which he had undertaken to pay was not stated in the agreement, but on the 6th of the following October the president had written to him demanding eight thousand head of good cattle, three hundred horses, and five hundred guns to meet this debt. The demand must be regarded as unreasonably large, and there can be no doubt that if an attempt had been made to enforce it at the time, Mahura would have abandoned Taung and retired to some place where he would be less exposed to attack. The condition of the country had enabled him to ignore it, so he had never paid a single hoof, and when a letter of demand was addressed to him eleven days after the return to office of Mr. Pretorius, he referred the government of the republic to his agent, Mr. David Arnot. This was equivalent to ignoring his liability and declaring that he had no intention of doing anything in the matter.

Two clans in the district of Lydenburg had taken up arms, and for many months the white residents there had been living in lagers. One of these clans, a remnant of a coast tribe under a chief named Maboko, or Mapok as termed by the Europeans, had been notorious for cattle-lifting ever since 1853. The other termed itself the Baghopa, and was under a chief named Malewu. In October 1863 Mapok attacked the principal lager, but was driven back with heavy loss. A patrol of sixty men under Fieldcornet Daniel Erasmus fell in with a large party of the enemy on a plain, and killed one hundred and thirty, at a cost of two farmers wounded; but with these exceptions the advantages were all on the side of the blacks. They had possession of the whole of the outlying farms, and had destroyed all the houses and orchards. In December 1863 a force was sent from Pretoria against them, but was recalled before it could do anything, owing to the revolt of Commandant Viljoen.

Within a month of the return to office of President Pretorius, a large commando was on its way to Lydenburg to deal with Mapok and Malewu. But it had no occasion to fight. Those chiefs had other enemies in the Swazis, one of the bravest and most powerful of the coast tribes. In June 1864 a Swazi army fell upon Mapok and routed him. It next attacked Malewu and nearly annihilated his clan, leaving in one place alone the corpses of eight hundred and fifty-four men and two thousand eight hundred and forty women and children. The Swazis then withdrew to their own side of the boundary, and left to Commandant-General Joseph van Dyk only the task of collecting the remnants of the hostile clans and assigning them locations to live in.

The transactions of the republic with the Zulu tribe at this time were not considered of much importance, though fourteen years later they gave rise to a very serious controversy. To understand them, it is necessary to take

up the thread of Zulu history from the establishment of the colony of Natal.

The government of Panda, though cruel if judged by a European standard, was mild when compared with that of either Dingan or Tshaka. White traders were encouraged to settle among the people, and missionaries were permitted to pursue their labours. Two mission societies previously unrepresented in South Africa—the Hanoverian and the Norwegian—sent their agents into Zululand. The military system established by Tshaka was greatly relaxed, though the organisation of the army was still maintained. It was not possible to carry on war as formerly; for on the south was Natal, under the English government, on the west was the South African Republic, and north of the Pongolo river was the Swazi tribe, in alliance with white men whom Panda feared to offend. In January 1847 the Zulus attacked the Swazis, when Commandant-General Hendrik Potgieter, though not assisting either, used his influence in the interests of peace. In 1855 the Swazis ceded a tract of land to the district of Lydenburg, purposely to place Europeans between the Zulus and themselves.

The part of the South African Republic that bordered on Zululand was the district of Utrecht. This district, though it had been cleared of inhabitants by Tshaka, had never afterwards been occupied by Zulu armies except when on the march, nor had any kraals been built in it, but as it was below the Drakensberg it was at one time as much Zulu territory as the adjoining county in Natal. It was part of the country which Commandant-General Andries Pretorius proclaimed a dependency of the republic of Natal on the 14th of February 1840. It was included in Zululand by the agreement made between Commissioner Cloete and Panda on the 5th of October 1843.

In 1847 a number of farmers residing in Natal sent a deputation, of which Cornelis van Rooyen was chairman, to Panda, and obtained his consent to their occupying any portion of the land under the Drakensberg that was not used

by his people. In 1848 a considerable number of Europeans moved into it, as has been related in another chapter. On the 8th of September 1854 a deed of cession to the farmers was signed by Panda, who accepted as an acknowledgment of the favour a present of a hundred head of cattle. Immediately afterwards the republic of Utrecht was established. Its subsequent incorporation with the republic of Lydenburg, and finally with the South African Republic, has already been related.

In the deed of cession the boundaries of the district were laid down, but not very clearly, as the document was the production of men with no great amount of education in letters. In point of fact, the boundary thereafter recognised by both parties for several years was the Blood river from its junction with the Buffalo upwards to where the old hunting path—a well-known beaten road—crosses it, and thence the hunting path to the Pongola river.

In June 1860 Mr. J. H. Grobbelaar, acting president of the South African Republic, appointed a commission to arrange with the Zulus for the erection of beacons along the boundary and to acknowledge Ketshwayo as heir to the chieftainship. The commission was also to endeavour to obtain a cession of land around St. Lucia Bay and of a roadway to that port. This object is not mentioned in the official correspondence, nor in the documents concerning the investigation into boundary disputes in 1878; but it was well known at the time, and was commented upon by the newspapers. A seaport had always been ardently desired by the people of the republic, and as they still claimed a vague kind of control over Panda, it was deemed possible to obtain a cession of the shore of St. Lucia Bay from him, if the matter could be quietly discussed. The commission consisted of Nicolaas Smuts, landdrost of Utrecht, Andries Spies, Cornelis van Rooyen, Pieter Lavras Uys, and W. H. Uys. It took no immediate action in the matters here named, but it continued for some time to be the recognised authority on the border for dealing with the Zulus.

In February 1861 Umtonga, a son of Panda, fled from Zululand and sought protection from the landdrost of Utrecht, as Ketshwayo had just put two members of the ruling family to death, and he feared for his life. He had with him another son of Panda and two indunas.

A few weeks later Ketshwayo sent a message to Landdrost Smuts, thanking him for "detaining the fugitives," and offering to make the people of Utrecht a present of a tract of land if they needed it. The object of the chief was apparent. He wished to prevent Umtonga being used against him in the same way that his father Panda had been used against Dingan. The people of Utrecht had more land already than ten times their number could profitably occupy, but like other men everywhere they were very willing to extend their border.

Upon receipt of Ketshwayo's message, the commission called a public meeting, which was held at a place named Waaihoek. The meeting resolved to send Cornelis van Rooyen to learn what the chief wanted and what he proposed to give.

Thereupon Van Rooyen proceeded to the kraal Ondini, where he met Ketshwayo, who offered to cede a strip of land along the border of Utrecht as far as a certain line which was named, if the fugitives and their cattle were given up. Van Rooyen was inclined to regard the proposal favourably, provided the lives of the fugitives were spared. Ketshwayo promised that no harm should happen to them. It was then arranged that Van Rooyen should return and report to the Utrecht people, and that Ketshwayo should await a reply at the kraal of the captain Sirayo, where he had assembled a large force.

Upon the delivery of Van Rooyen's report, the border commission went to Sirayo's kraal, and, on the 28th of March 1861, in the name of the South African Republic formally acknowledged Ketshwayo as heir to the Zulu chieftainship, and treated with him as the actual ruler of Zululand. They agreed to surrender Umtonga and the other

fugitives, upon Ketshwayo's promising himself and sending two men of note to Utrecht to promise publicly that their lives would be spared, and Ketshwayo agreed in consideration thereof to cede the land he had named.

Ketshwayo sent Gebula, who had for twenty years been the recognised official Zulu messenger, and the captain Sirayo, to make the formal promise required by the border commission. On the first of April a meeting of the people of Utrecht took place at Waaihoek, at which the Zulu messengers were present. Ketshwayo with a strong army was not far off, and it was generally believed that he would invade the district if his brothers were not placed under his surveillance. On the other hand, the safety of the refugees was promised, and a valuable strip of territory was offered, if they were surrendered. It did not take long to decide which course should be followed. Umtonga and his retinue were sent to Ketshwayo, and to the honour of the Zulu chief be it said, he strictly kept his word and did no harm to any of them, though a careful watch was maintained over their movements. A deputation from the Utrecht meeting visited him, and on the 3rd of April he attached his mark to a formal deed of cession of the land agreed upon. Three of his brothers — Uhamu, Siwedu, and Siteku — also attached their marks to the document.

While these events were taking place, the people of Natal were in a state of excitement, as they did not know for what purpose the large army under Ketshwayo was massed so near their border. A military force was got in readiness to repel an invasion, when the Zulu chief sent a peaceful message to the effect that it was only a big hunting party that he had with him. Rumours then spread that the burghers of the South African Republic were threatening to encroach on Zululand, which was the cause of Ketshwayo's movements; and the anti-republican portion of the press suggested that if such a thing as a government could be found north of the Vaal, Great Britain ought to make it pay the expense that Natal had incurred.

All this had happened without Panda, the nominal head of the Zulu tribe, being consulted or even made acquainted with it. The Utrecht people now considered that the validity of the cession might be questioned at some future time if any accident should happen to Ketshwayo, and that it would therefore be advisable to obtain Panda's approval. The man who was likely to have most influence with him was President Pretorius, of the Orange Free State; for the Zulu chief could not comprehend republican institutions, but had a deep-seated respect for the son and heir of the famous commandant to whom he owed his life as well as his position. It was assumed that the president would be very willing to serve his countrymen, though they belonged to a political party in opposition to him. Conciliation had always been one of the most prominent features in his character.

Through the medium of the acting government at Pretoria, it was arranged that a deputation consisting of Advocate Proes and Messrs. Steyn and Viljoen should visit Bloemfontein, nominally to discuss terms of union between the two republics, or, failing that, to decide the dispute concerning the Vaal river boundary, really to request Mr. Pretorius to accompany them to Panda's kraal and exert his influence on their behalf. The deputation had no difficulty in attaining its object.

On the 17th of May 1861 President Pretorius, accompanied by Messrs. Proes, Steyn, and Viljoen, left Bloemfontein. At Harrismith a commission from the Free State joined them, and a futile attempt was made to come to an agreement whether the Klip river or the upper Vaal should form the boundary between the two republics. The president and his associates then went on to Panda's kraal, and had an interview with that chief. After an exchange of assurances of friendship, the object of the mission was made known, when Panda gave his consent to the arrangement concerning the land. The deed of cession signed by Ketshwayo had not been brought with the deputation, but Panda promised to

affix his mark to it whenever it might be sent to him. The president then returned by way of Potchefstroom to Bloemfontein, where he arrived on the 31st of July.

A few weeks later a commission, consisting of Messrs. T. Potgieter, J. F. van Staden, and C. J. van Staden, visited Panda, and on the 5th of August 1861 the chief affixed his mark to a document ratifying the cession made by his son. Whether any discussion took place concerning St. Lucia Bay has never been known; but if a proposal to cede land there was made to the Zulu chief, it was certainly rejected. The line forming the boundary of the land added to the district of Utrecht ran from Rorke's Drift on the Buffalo river, by a range of hills, to a point on the Pongolo. It was not beacons off in 1861.

During the next three years the condition of the South African Republic was such that no thought could be bestowed upon boundaries, and the land obtained from the Zulu chiefs was left unoccupied by white men. At length order was restored in the country, when the government became conscious that its relationship to several of its neighbours was greatly changed from what it had once been. Panda, however, was not so difficult to deal with as might have been expected. On the 30th of September 1864 the volksraad instructed the president to appoint a commission to confer with the Zulu chiefs and erect beacons along the Utrecht border, and when this was communicated to Panda he replied in a friendly manner, speaking of the burghers of the republic as his fathers and acknowledging his indebtedness to them.

In December 1864 President Pretorius, accompanied by Commandant-General Paul Kruger and Mr. Joseph Fourie, member of the executive council, visited Utrecht, and from that place sent messengers to Panda and Ketshwayo, requesting the chiefs to appoint delegates to assist in putting up beacons along the line. Panda thereupon appointed Gebula, and Ketshwayo directed one of his confidential servants, named Gunjini, to represent him. The line was then

beaconed off, the Zulu delegates pointing out the positions and placing the first stone of nearly every pile.

So far all had happened as favourably as the burghers could have wished. But the beacons had not been erected two months when matters assumed another aspect. Umtonga fled for the second time from Zululand, on this occasion taking refuge in Natal; and Ketshwayo then repented of his bargain. There was nothing to show in return for the ceded land. The young chief's resolution was soon taken, and in February 1865 a Zulu army appeared on the Utrecht border, and removed the beacons so recently set up.

Upon hearing this, Panda, who did not wish to quarrel with the white people, sent a message to the president, asking him to make another line. Accordingly, a commission was appointed, which arrived at the kraal Nodwengo on the 12th of June, and on the 16th had a conference with the chief. Ketshwayo was not present, and sent word that he was sick. To the surprise of the delegates, Panda and all his captains at first denied having any knowledge of a cession of land; but on the 17th Panda admitted that the line had been made with his consent, and affixed his mark to a document to that effect. He desired the commission, however, to request President Pretorius to change the end of the new boundary near the Pongolo river, so as to restore to Zululand some ground there.

Meantime, Ketshwayo, so far from being sick, was reviewing his army; and the burghers of the South African Republic were in a state of alarm, owing to reports that he was about to cross the border. To a considerable distance from the frontier the farmers went into lager. A commando assembled in the district of Wakkerstroom, to be ready to repel an invasion; but did not proceed to Utrecht, lest its appearance there might provoke hostilities. It was while watching events from Wakkerstroom, under these circumstances, that intelligence reached Commandant-General Paul Kruger of the outbreak of war between the Orange Free State and the Basuto of Moshesh.

A subject that was much discussed in Europe as well as in South Africa during this period was the existence of slavery in the republic. Charges against the burghers of reducing weak and helpless blacks to a condition of servitude were numerous and boldly stated on one side, and were indignantly denied on the other. That the laws were clearly opposed to slavery goes for nothing, because in a time of anarchy law is a dead letter. There is overwhelming evidence that blacks were transferred openly from one individual to another, and there are the strongest assertions from men of undoubted integrity that there was no slavery. To people in Europe it seemed impossible that both should be true, and the opinion was generally held that the farmers of the interior of South Africa were certainly slaveholders.

Since 1877 much concerning this matter that was previously doubtful has been set at rest. On the 12th of April of that year the South African Republic was proclaimed British territory, and when soon afterwards investigation was made, not a single slave was set free, because there was not one in the country. In the very heart of the territory kraals of blacks were found in as prosperous a condition as in any part of South Africa. It was ascertained that these blacks had always lived in peace with the white inhabitants, and that they had no complaints to make. Quite as strong was the evidence afforded by the number of the Bantu. In 1877 there were at the lowest estimate six times as many black people living in a state of semi-independence within the borders of the South African Republic as there had been on the same ground forty years before. Surely these people would not have moved in if the character of the burghers was such as most Englishmen believed it to be. A statement of actual facts is thus much more likely now to gain credence abroad than would have been the case in 1864.

The individuals who were termed slaves by the missionary party were termed apprentices by the farmers. The great

majority—probably nineteen out of every twenty—were children who had been made prisoners in the wars which the tribes were constantly waging with each other. In olden days it had been the custom for the conquering tribe to put all of the conquered to death, except the girls and a few boys who could be made useful as carriers. More recently they had become less inhuman, from having found that for smaller children they could obtain beads and other merchandise.

With a number of tribes bordering on the republic ready to sell their captives, with the Betshuana everywhere prepared to dispose of the children of their hereditary slaves, a few adventurous Europeans were found willing to embark in the odious traffic. Waggon-loads of children were brought into the republic, where they were apprenticed for a term of years to the first holder, and the deeds of apprenticeship could afterwards be transferred before a landdrost. This was the slavery of the South African Republic. Its equivalent was to be found a few years earlier in the Cape Colony, when negroes taken in slave ships by British cruisers were apprenticed to individuals. There would have been danger in the system if the demand for apprentices had been greater. In that case, the tribes might have attacked each other purposely to obtain captives for sale. But the demand was very limited, for the service of a raw black apprentice was of no great value. A herd boy, if diligent and faithful, might be worth something more than his food, clothing, and a few head of cattle which were given to him when his apprenticeship expired; but no other class of raw Bantu child was.

It is an open question whether it was better that these children should remain with the destroyers of their parents, and according to chance grow up either as slaves or as adopted members of the conquering tribe: or that they should serve ten or fifteen years as apprentices to white people, acquire some of the habits of European life, and then settle down as freemen with a little property. It was

answered in 1864, and will be answered to-day, according to the bias of the individual.

A small proportion of the apprentices were children taken as had been those of Setsheli's tribe, of whom sufficient has been written in a previous chapter.

The ecclesiastical quarrels came to an end with the cessation of political strife. Three other clergymen had arrived in the country. The reverend G. W. Smits had become pastor of the Rustenburg people who used hymns in public worship, so that there were now two congregations in that district. The reverend J. Begemann was stationed at Pretoria, and the reverend N. J. van Warmelo at Schoemansdal, the principal village in the district of Zoutpansberg.

After the decision of the supreme court of the Cape Colony which excluded the clergymen of the republics from the Cape synod, the reverend Mr. Van Heiningen, of Lydenburg, and the elders of the church at Utrecht united with the Dutch Reformed church in Natal. But early in 1864 they decided to have a general assembly of their own. This body met for the first time at Utrecht on the 3rd of December 1866. Mr. Van Heiningen had removed, and there was only one clergyman present on the occasion — the reverend F. L. Cachet, who had recently come to reside at Utrecht, — but there were elders representing eight congregations then established. After this date the great majority of Christians in the republic settled down into three bodies in friendly rivalry: the Dutch Reformed church of the old school, the Dutch Reformed church with rationalistic tendencies, and the Separatist Reformed church, all professing to hold by the decrees of the synod of Dordrecht and the doctrine of the Heidelberg catechism.

The laws making a distinction between professors of different beliefs had fallen into disuse, and in 1865 there was a clergyman of the church of England and one of the Congregational church residing in Potchefstroom. In the same village there was a Wesleyan missionary labouring

among the coloured people. Between them a friendly feeling existed, and there was no attempt to encroach upon each other's sphere of labour. On the 24th of February 1866 a new church, which was then regarded as a very fine building, was opened for public worship by the Dutch Reformed community in Potchefstroom. There were present at the dedication ceremony the Dutch Reformed clergymen of Potchefstroom, Pretoria, Rustenburg, and Zoutpansberg, and the clergymen of the other denominations, who, however, were spectators only.

After the opening of the church, a general assembly of the Dutch clergymen and elders was held, when the reverend Dirk van der Hoff, minister of Potchefstroom, was accused of holding rationalistic views, deemed heretical by those who maintained the doctrines of the Heidelberg catechism in their entirety. The charge was not very closely pressed, however, for though the conduct of the accused in private life was considered somewhat blamable at times, it was felt by every one that harsh proceedings against the oldest clergyman in the country would be at least indecorous. The trial was therefore a mere matter of form, and the accused was acquitted.

There were restrictions upon missionaries taking up their residence wherever they chose, the object being to prevent the spread of such political and social doctrines as had caused strife and ill feeling in the Cape Colony. But missionaries who confined their teaching to the truths of Christianity and the arts of civilised life had no difficulty in obtaining permission from the government to prosecute their labours. The Berlin and Hermansburg societies were beginning the extensive operations which they have since carried on among the Bantu tribes. The Dutch Reformed church of the Cape Colony also had commenced mission work with a branch of the Bavenda, and in 1862 had established a station in the north of the republic.

There were very few good educational institutions for children, and none deserving the name of high schools. The

same society in the Netherlands that sent out the first clergyman sent out also several qualified schoolmasters, but these individuals had soon drifted into other occupations much more remunerative than teaching. At each church-place there was an elementary school, however, in which reading, writing, a little arithmetic, and the principles of Christianity were taught; and most of the farmers employed itinerant teachers for short periods. The qualifications of these teachers were in general very limited, though a few of them were men of education who had fallen into poverty through intemperate habits.

As has been seen, a good many churches had been erected, but these were the only public buildings of any importance in the country. The civil servants were very poorly accommodated, the offices being small, roughly constructed, and barely furnished with the most necessary conveniences for carrying on business. The farmers, who were accustomed to live in the plainest manner in their own homes, could not realise that anything better was needed, and if they had done so, there were no funds with which to put up commodious and handsome buildings. The public revenue, if the taxes had been regularly paid, would have been very small, and as there were always arrears, it was with the utmost difficulty that sufficient money could be collected at any time to cover the trifling salaries of the officials. The rivers were unbridged, and the public roads were in general almost unattended to. At the same time every one had abundance of good plain food, and very few felt the want of luxuries. The farmers in general were living as their ancestors, the frontiersmen of the Cape Colony, had lived for generations, and they were quite satisfied to pass through life in that condition. Circumstances had made them the very best pioneers of civilisation in a country like South Africa, where at that time the ordinary comforts and conveniences of European towns followed very slowly the march of those who penetrated the interior wastes.

In September 1864 a scheme of colonisation of a portion of the unoccupied lands of the country was submitted to the government by a Scotchman named Alexander McCorkindale, who had been some time resident in Natal, and who had recently been endeavouring in vain to induce the volksraad of the Orange Free State to allot him a number of farms with reduced quitrent, on which to place immigrants. Mr. McCorkindale proposed to form a commercial association in Great Britain, which should send out at least three hundred suitable families and locate them on land then vacant, provided certain privileges were granted to him. The scheme included the establishment of a bank, the loan of a large sum of money to the republic at a moderate rate of interest, and the importation of a constant and cheap supply of ammunition.

Mr. McCorkindale further proposed to build warehouses at a spot where the Maputa river, which empties into Delagoa Bay, issues from the Lebombo mountains. It was believed that this river could be made navigable for large boats nearly as high as the site proposed for the warehouses, which was also beyond the belt along the coast that is particularly subject to fever of a deadly nature and is infested by the tsetse fly. This proposal found great favour with the people of the republic, who were exceedingly desirous of having a seaport under their own control.

From the earliest days of the great emigration from the Cape Colony, efforts had been made to open up communication with the outer world through Delagoa Bay. The Portuguese government had acted in the most friendly manner, and had done all that it could to assist these attempts. A small and precarious trade was established; but the deadly fever of the coast belt in the summer season, the destruction of cattle in the jungle by the tsetse, and the want of a waggon road had prevented its growth and its stability. Mr. McCorkindale's scheme—if it could be carried into effect, which he declared was quite feasible—would overcome all these difficulties.

The government therefore granted him many concessions, and agreed to sell him a block of two hundred farms, or about one million two hundred and fifty thousand acres of ground, for £8,000, that is, £40 for a farm. The district in which this ground was situated thereafter took the name of New Scotland. It lies along the Drakensberg, in an elevated and healthy region, and is bordered by the Swazi country, in which Mr. McCorkindale hoped to obtain by purchase a large tract of land as well as a roadway from his proposed colony to his stores at the Lebombo mountains.

The projector returned to Great Britain, and endeavoured to form colonisation companies in both England and Scotland. But he could not find a sufficient number of capitalists willing to embark in his scheme, and was therefore unable to carry it out in its entirety. He managed, however, to form an association, which took the name of the Glasgow and South Africa Company, and purchased forty farms at £40 each, the whole containing two hundred and fifty thousand acres. In 1866 he reached South Africa again with a large quantity of gunpowder and a party of Scotch immigrants. The immigrants, numbering in all about fifty souls, were located in January 1867 close to Lake Chrissie,* in New Scotland, but the ground on which they settled proved not to be so well adapted for either agricultural or pastoral purposes as had been anticipated. Most of them therefore turned to other pursuits, and soon found themselves in prosperous circumstances.

After again visiting Great Britain and expending a vast amount of energy and all the resources that he could command, Mr. McCorkindale proceeded to Delagoa Bay to make a thorough inspection of the harbour and coast, and died of fever at Inyaka Island on the 1st of May 1871. He left no one to carry out the great undertakings he had planned, which consequently fell to the ground with his death.

Owing to the long period of disorder, during which taxes could not be collected, the treasury of the republic was

*So named after the daughter of President Pretorius.

empty; and money was urgently required for the purchase of munitions of war, as well as for the payment of salaries to officers in the civil service, and to meet certain promissory notes—termed mandates—which the government had been obliged to issue. In June 1865 the volksraad resolved, as a temporary expedient, to issue notes to the value of £10,500. The notes were printed on blue foolscap. Some of them represented 7s. 6d., others 15s. A promise was made to redeem them after eighteen months in metal coinage, and to pay interest upon them during that period at the rate of six per cent per annum. The public servants were obliged to receive them instead of money in payment of their salaries, though they soon fell greatly in value compared with gold or silver. This was the beginning of the public debt of the South African Republic.

The old system of carrying on commerce entirely by means of barter was no longer possible as it had been when elephants, ostriches, rhinoceroses, and seacows were plentiful, and karosses could be obtained from the Bantu for beads and brass wire and exchanged again with itinerant traders and shopkeepers for coffee and clothing. The large wild animals with which the country once teemed had almost disappeared, though the smaller antelopes were still comparatively plentiful, and at times the migratory springboks might be seen coming from distant pastures in herds of thousands together. The farmers still paid the storekeepers in the villages in wool and hides of domestic animals, which those dealers sent to the merchants of Durban or Port Elizabeth from whom they obtained goods usually on long credit. Few of the farmers were ever free of debt to the storekeepers, they bought goods on credit at extortionate rates, and paid for them in produce at the traders' own prices. But mechanics, indeed all persons except cattle breeders, were obliged to live in some other way. To them a circulating medium of some kind was an absolute necessity. The notes supplied that need as far as so small a sum could go, but at a ruinous rate to those who used them. They

were of no value at all outside of the republic, consequently a shopkeeper was obliged at once to double the nominal price of his goods, as he could only use the paper in local transactions. What trade was carried on was therefore almost as petty in its nature as that with the Bantu.

At this time an official of the South African Republic held no enviable post, if he depended upon his salary for a living. But there were very few of them who were not engaged in other occupations which enabled them to live, so that anything like a strict and regular devotion to public duties was not to be expected. The commandants, field-cornets, and principal civil officials were all farmers or rather cattle breeders, and directed their affairs in person. The lower officials did anything that came to their hands to do, and were always on the lookout for some occupation that would improve their circumstances and afford them better prospects than were offered in the service of the state.

This condition of things showed the extreme poverty of the republic, the simplicity of its dealings, and the absence of any attraction to Europeans of position to make the country their home.

CHAPTER LXXXIII.

EVENTS IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN REPUBLIC FROM 1865 TO 1870.

THE history of the Orange Free State and that of the South African Republic are so intimately connected that it is impossible to give a complete view of one without frequent reference to the other. Had there been tranquillity in the northern republic, Moshesh would not have ventured to act as he did, but tranquillity there was well-nigh forgotten. The South African Republic was at this time engaged in a war almost as exhausting to the combatants as that between the Free State and Moshesh, and it was a war in which justice was not altogether on the side of the white man. The district of Zoutpansberg was the scene of the occurrences that must now be related.

This large district—the northern portion of the republic—in 1864 included the whole country enclosed by the Limpopo river, the Waterberg, and the Olifants river from the great bend where it turns to the east. It was as fair and fertile a land as any that the sun shines upon, with deep rich soil, abundantly watered, and covered with a thick carpet of the most nutritious grasses. Its scenery was diversified. In the north the mountain ranges* from which the district has its name crossed the country from side to side, in the east was a broken tract called from numerous caverns the Spelonken, and a great portion of the remaining area consisted of rolling plains. The climate was as varied as the scenery. In the open highlands the temperature on both sides of the tropic was agreeable to white men, and

* They were called Zoutpansbergen by the first explorers on account of several large salt pans having been found at their northern base.

a healthier country could not be desired; but in the deep forest-clad valleys, where the sugar cane and coffee plant thrive luxuriantly, the heat in summer was almost unbearable, and fever forbade the presence of Europeans. The wooded lands also in the northern parts of the district were then infested with the tsetse,* which prevented occupation by farmers.

Before the arrival of the Europeans, wave after wave of war rolled over this district, just as over the country farther south. The armies of Tshaka, Moselekatse, Sapusa, and Manikusa swept over it until there was nothing left to gather as spoil. Most of the inhabitants perished of hunger or by the assagai, and those that remained alive either fled westward to the desert or retired to secluded and almost inaccessible positions in the mountains.

When Commandant-General Hendrik Potgieter settled in the district, he found the open country uninhabited, and the few Bantu in the mountains only too glad to welcome the presence of Europeans, under whose protection they could live in safety. There was no purchase—or nominal purchase—of immense areas of land from some chief whose claim rested on conquest, as in the district of Lydenburg; but the white people simply took possession of the territory lying waste before them. As if it was the most natural thing in the world, the impoverished blacks admitted the superiority of the strangers without question or demur, and did not think of objecting to any arrangements that were made regarding them. Gradually they were brought under the same system as that which prevailed in the other districts. Reserves—often with boundaries ill-defined and thus open to encroachments—were set apart for their use, and there they were left entirely under their own laws and subject to the authority of their own chiefs. Such reserves, according to a resolution of the volksraad of the 28th of

* This destructive insect has since that time disappeared from the Zoutpansberg district, probably owing to the extermination of the antelopes and other game.

November 1853, were regarded by the government of the republic as loan places to be held by the occupants and their posterity during good behaviour. In some cases it was arranged that the residents on a location should furnish a fixed supply of labour, in others that the chief should pay a small tribute yearly, in others again it was agreed that during the peaceable and orderly conduct of the people nothing would be exacted.

The former inhabitants who had been dispersed now began to return, and many of them rallied round a chief of the Bavenda family named Mpofu, who acted identically the same part in the Zoutpansbergen as Sekwati has been described as acting in the mountainous region south of the Olifants river, and Moshesh in the Maluti and the valley of the Caledon. Upon Mpofu's death, two of his sons fought for the chieftainship, when the one countenanced by Commandant-General Potgieter—Ramapulana by name—obtained the succession.

Just as in the case of Moshesh, various little clans from a distance, and not belonging to the tribes previously inhabiting the country, resorted to the Zoutpansbergen and their neighbourhood as soon as there was a prospect of safety there. The whole of these did not become subjects of Ramapulana, though some of them were allied with him. It would create confusion to enter into detail concerning the history of all these clans, and only those who took a prominent part in the disturbances of 1865 and later years need be mentioned. There was one group that had rallied round a half-breed named Michiel Buys, whose father—Coenraad du Buis—was a notorious outlaw in the early years of the nineteenth century. Michiel and his elder brother Gabriel had long been employed to collect tribute from the Baramapulana and other clans as far as the Limpopo. Some years before the events now to be related Gabriel died of poison, and Michiel remained sole ruler of the retainers they had gathered about them. This party of refugees may be called for convenience Buys's people. Then there

were several clans of the Magwamba, or Knobnoses as they were termed by the Europeans from their custom of raising scars on their faces. These people were fragments of a coast-tribe, and at this time were under the control of a man named João Albasini, whom they regarded as their chief. There were further two little semi-independent tribes of the Bavenda family under chiefs who took on their accession the dynastic titles of Tshivasa and Pafuri,* and the Bakwebo, who were distantly related to them, under the chieftainess Matshatshi.

In 1864 the white inhabitants of the district of Zoutpansberg were the most lawless of their colour in all South Africa. There were indeed many respectable well-behaved people residing on farms, but on the frontier there had assembled a large number of fugitives from justice, of almost every European nationality, as well as degraded offshoots of old colonial families. These men, whose manner of living was in many respects even more savage than that of the blacks, were professedly traders and hunters, but did not scruple to follow the calling of robbers when there was any plunder within reach. In early days they had taken parties of blacks to the hunting fields with them, but recently they had contented themselves with sending these people to procure ivory and ostrich feathers while they remained at home in idleness. The blacks, thus entrusted with guns and ammunition, soon found that they could obtain from illicit traders very much more for the products of the chase than their employers were likely to pay them, and disposed in this way of the greater portion of the ivory, feathers, and skins obtained. For these they received guns and ammunition, until the clans to which they belonged became well armed. Then the hunters refused to restore the weapons to their European employers.

* Ramapulana, Tshivasa, and Pafuri were all decendants of the chief who was at the head of the Bavenda when the tribe settled south of the Limpopo about the beginning of the eighteenth century, but the two latter had become independent of the former, who was the heir in the great line.

The chief inland market of the ivory and feather trade was the village of Schoemansdal, called after Stephanus Schoeman, and situated on an open plain at the southern base of the Zoutpansberg range, about half a degree north of the tropic. It was the most distant outpost of the white man towards the heart of the continent, and from it as a base of operations hunting parties made their way to Lake Ngami and the banks of the Zambesi. The village had been founded some six years before the period at which we have now arrived. It was in a pleasant position, had a stream of excellent water running along each street, and was well adorned with orchards and gardens. The landdrost of the district of Zoutpansberg—at this time Mr. Jan Vercueil—held his court here, and there was a clergyman of the Dutch Reformed church—the reverend N. J. van Warmelo—resident in the village. A church and a parsonage had just been built, and a school for children had recently been established.

About thirty kilometres west of the village of Schoemansdal, in the location of the people under Michiel Buys, was the mission station of Goedgedacht, occupied by the reverend Mr. McKidd, an agent of the Dutch Reformed church in the Cape Colony. This mission was the first among the blacks of Zoutpansberg, and had not yet made any converts, though it has since been very successful. The missionary did not confine his attention to the blacks, but was endeavouring to bring about a reformation among the Europeans in his neighbourhood, who needed his exhortations quite as much as the others did. Shortly after this date, but while the occurrences about to be related were transpiring, Mr. McKidd died of fever, and was succeeded by the reverend Stéphanus Hofmeyr.

A few kilometres east of Schoemansdal Mr. J. Albasini resided. He was largely engaged in the ivory trade, was the head of the refugee Magwamba, and held the offices of vice-consul for Portugal under the governor of Mozambique and superintendent of all the blacks in the

district of Zoutpansberg under the president of the South African Republic.

As the wealth and numerical strength of the blacks increased, the chiefs became impatient of restraint, and the tribe under Ramapulana took advantage of the civil strife in the republic to make itself practically independent. It had been treated in the same manner as all the other tribes and clans in the country, that is, it had been left to the government of its own chief without the slightest interference on the part of the European officials except in matters where white people were concerned.

For several years preceding 1864 the tribe was convulsed by a struggle for ascendancy between two sons of Ramapulana, named Magadu and Tabana. In 1864 the old chief died, when Magadu, who was aided by the captains Katlakter, brother of Ramapulana, Tshivasa, Mazivemdela, Pago, and others of less note, accused Tabana of having caused his father's death by means of witchcraft. With all the forces that they could muster they fell upon him and his adherents, who were defeated and driven from their kraals. Tabana, with those of his followers who managed to escape, fled to Albasini, and claimed protection. His enemies requested that he should be surrendered to them, but Albasini, in his capacity as an official of the South African Republic, refused to do this, and gave Tabana a location where he was in safety. This event was the cause of the division of the Baramapulana into two sections, one of which, under Magadu, Katlakter, and other chiefs, was unfriendly to the Europeans; while the clan under Tabana was obedient to the republic.

There were thus many elements of discord in the district of Zoutpansberg. There was the refusal of the black hunters to give up guns committed to their charge, there was a bitter feeling on the part of the blacks towards the disorderly Europeans who had collected there and who plundered and insulted them without the slightest scruple, there were arms acquired from illicit traders in the hands of

Bantu clans who could not refrain from using them, and there was a violent tribal feud in which one party was protected by the European government. Under such circumstances any trifling event could produce a collision.

The immediate act that led to hostilities was the escape from custody of a petty captain named Monene. This man, who bore the character of being one of the most turbulent individuals in the district, was a refugee from the powerful coast tribe formerly under the chief Manikusa. For some misconduct, real or alleged, he had fled from his own people and taken refuge with the chieftainess Matshatshi, who resided in Zoutpansberg and was reputed to be the most successful rainmaker in the country. After a brief stay with Matshatshi, Monene committed some offence there also, for which he was obliged to flee. He then took refuge with Albasini, who gave him a location at Goedewensch, and made him headman of a party of refugee Knobnoses.

The tribe to which Monene originally belonged was called the Matshangana. It had its origin in the flight of a horde of people from the neighbourhood of St. Lucia Bay in the time of the Zulu conquests. In 1864 this tribe was under a chief named Umzila, and occupied the country east and north-east of the district of Zoutpansberg. It was—and always had been—absolutely independent of the South African Republic. Umzila himself had, however, once been a subject of the emigrant farmers. Early in 1858, a few months before the death of his father Manikusa, he quarrelled with one of his brothers, and was obliged to flee. He retired to Zoutpansberg, and sought protection from Albasini, by whom a location was given to him close to Ramapulana's kraals. While residing there, his father died, and his brother became head of the tribe. But hearing that his brother was not popular, in 1861 Umzila left Zoutpansberg and proceeded to Delagoa Bay, where he obtained such assistance from the Portuguese government as enabled him to defeat his rival and make himself chief of the Matshangana, though as a vassal of the authorities at Lourenço

Marques. It needed some time to establish himself firmly, but by the end of 1863 opposition to his authority had almost ceased.

Early in 1864 Umzila sent messengers to Albasini, to request that Monene with his wives and children should either be surrendered or be put to death. He threatened that in case his request was not complied with he would close the hunting grounds in and beyond his country, then the chief source of the supply of ivory. Before this request was made, Monene had lost favour with Albasini, and was giving a great deal of trouble by his turbulent conduct. He came to learn the object of Umzila's messengers, and fearing for his life, he fled to Commandant Frederik Geyser, to whom he stated that Albasini was plotting to kill him. The commandant sent him to the farm of Mr. Jacob de Couto to be provided for, and summoned Albasini to appear before the landdrost at Schoemansdal—Mr. Jan Vercueil—on the 7th of April. Monene was directed to be present at the same time, with his witnesses. Albasini refused to obey the summons, and asserted that in matters relating to black people his office of superintendent was superior to that of either a commandant or a landdrost, so that he held himself accountable only to the executive council of the republic. There was no power to compel his attendance, and the matter was allowed to rest until the president should visit Zoutpansberg, Monene in the mean time remaining at De Couto's farm.

In July 1864 President Pretorius visited the district, and as a temporary measure gave Monene a location close to Schoemansdal, placing him under the supervision of the landdrost Vercueil. Some months after this, Albasini entered a complaint against Monene, who was thereupon arrested and given in charge of Fieldcornet Stephanus van Rensburg. On the 28th of March 1865 he escaped from custody, and took refuge first with Magadu, next with Pago, and then with Tshivasa. As soon as Albasini heard that Monene had escaped, he called together a large party of Knobnoses, and

sent them to search for the fugitive. In doing so, they committed great atrocities at several kraals. One petty captain, named Magoro, who had long refused to pay tribute, was surprised by the Knobnoses. A message was sent assuring him of safety if he would pay the amount overdue. Magoro accordingly delivered between two and three hundred head of cattle, when some dispute arose, and he was made prisoner. That night he was murdered, his kraal was destroyed, and his women and children were seized.

On the 1st of April a party of white men—the roughest and most lawless characters in the district—assembled under Commandant Stephanus Venter to search for Monene, and on the 7th, having ascertained that Pago had given him shelter, they attacked that captain at Pisangkop, killed about ninety of his people, and drove off one hundred and seventy head of horned cattle and two hundred and fifty sheep and goats, besides taking away a number of women and children.

Magadu, Katlakter, and other captains then commenced to plunder the farms in their neighbourhood, and the white inhabitants of the northern part of the district went into lager as speedily as possible.

On the 25th of July a commando attacked Katlakter, who was giving shelter to the blacks that refused to surrender the guns of their employers. It did not succeed in capturing his kraal, however, and upon its failure the insurrection spread. The missionaries now found it necessary to abandon the station of Goedgedacht, and retire to another part of the district less exposed to danger. The buildings were shortly afterwards destroyed by Katlakter's people.

Before the return of the expedition against Moshesh, of which a relation was given in the preceding chapter, no attempt was made by the government to suppress these disturbances. In November 1865 President Pretorius and Commandant-General Kruger visited Zoutpansberg, and endeavoured to restore concord without having recourse to arms. They found the white inhabitants in lager, and

learned that a great deal of property had been lost, that thirty-eight farm houses and eight houses in the outskirts of the village of Schoemansdal had been burnt, and that business and farming occupations of all kinds except tending cattle had ceased. Upon investigation, they ascertained that the conduct of the lawless Europeans on the border could not be justified, but they had no means of punishing the guilty persons. There was no police force whatever, and no money to pay one. The president and commandant-general did their utmost to persuade all parties, white and black, to resume friendly intercourse, and having done this, they returned to the seat of government.

Every burgher throughout the republic who was liable to military duty, except those who had been in the commando against Moshesh, was now warned to hold himself in readiness to proceed to Zoutpansberg whenever called upon. The feeling displayed was, however, so strongly averse to war with the Baramapulana, that it was at once evident the attempt to raise a strong force would be a failure. With the quarrels of the clans among themselves, said the burghers, they would have nothing to do, as they did not feel it their calling to waste their blood and means in helping one captain to resist another when the interests of Europeans were in no way involved. Was not the condition of Natal—with its fertile lands now lost to the white man—said they, sufficient warning against the inexpedience of attempting to shelter every refugee? And why should they go to the assistance of lawless whites who had brought trouble upon themselves by reckless and criminal acts? Language such as this was generally used in the southern districts of the republic, and although the government declared that its object was not to make war upon the blacks, but to enforce order on blacks and whites alike, no inclination was shown to take up arms. Nothing therefore could be done to restore tranquillity at Zoutpansberg.

On the 19th of February 1866 the volksraad met in session at Potchefstroom. It resolved to send a commission

of inquiry to the seat of disturbances, to enforce order by means of a commando, and by the same means to support the courts of law in punishing wrong-doers there. But the financial condition of the country was such that these resolutions could not be carried into effect. In addition to the issue of paper money in the previous year, there were a number of outstanding notes of hand issued by the government to meet the most pressing wants, there were salaries of officials in arrear, and there was nothing in the treasury. Additional taxation was considered impossible. To redeem the outstanding paper and defray current expenses, the volksraad resolved to issue notes of 2s. 6d., 5s., and 20s., to the amount of £12,000, the notes—though bearing no interest—to be a legal tender for ten years; and as security for the redemption of the amount they set apart two hundred and forty-five farms. As the paper previously issued was not current at more than half its nominal value, the volksraad passed a resolution that any licensed dealer who should refuse to receive the new notes as equal to gold or silver should lose his license.

In June the government called out a commando of twelve hundred men, but did not succeed in obtaining even half that number. The commandant-general was ill and unable to lead the force, but the president went with it. It accomplished nothing whatever, and was disbanded within a month. But now the hostile clans began to quarrel among themselves, and the Europeans in the lagers were relieved from fear of attack. It was not possible, however, to occupy the abandoned farms or to fit out hunting expeditions, so that the white people remained in a condition of poverty and discomfort.

In the early months of 1867 the clans suspended their internal dissensions, and attacked the Europeans again. The president hereupon called out a commando of two thousand men to assemble at the end of May, and summoned the volksraad to meet in extraordinary session. The members came together on the 15th of May. The

president, in his opening address, informed them that he was helpless for want of money. The £12,000 in notes issued in 1866 had been insufficient to do more than pay the most pressing debts, and the old mandates were still unredeemed. During a session of twelve days, the volksraad could devise nothing better than another issue of notes secured by public lands, to the amount of £20,000, to redeem the mandates and meet the expenses of the commando. In such pecuniary distress was the republic at the time that a large quantity of ammunition brought from Europe in 1866 by Mr. McCorkindale, and delivered at the port of Durban by arrangement with the government in part payment for the land sold to him, could not be brought from the seacoast to Pretoria for want of money to meet the transport charges.

Instead of two thousand men answering the call to arms, only five hundred mustered on the day appointed; and with this small force, ill supplied with material of war, Commandant-General Kruger marched to Zoutpansberg. The captain Katlakter had recently made several pillaging excursions, so the commando moved against him. But his mountain fortress was too strong to be carried by so small an army, and therefore after some skirmishing the burghers fell back to the village of Schoemansdal. Here Mr. Kruger received trustworthy information that Mapela, the head of a band of refugees from the eastern coast, and other chiefs living near Makapan's Poort on the southern border of the district were ready to rise upon his receiving further reverses. He accordingly appealed to the country to support him with fifteen hundred men and a sufficient quantity of ammunition, and announced that without this aid he could not restore order. His appeal fell upon deaf ears, and he was left to do the best that he could with his puny commando.

At the same time that an armed force was called out, a court of three combined landdrosts was directed to punish European wrong-doers in the district of Zoutpansberg.

Before this court Commandant Stephanus Venter and Field-cornet J. H. du Plessis were charged with seizing cattle belonging to the captain Pago in April 1865, and illegally detaining them. On the 27th of June the jury found the accused persons guilty, and the court proceeded to sentence them. Du Plessis was ordered to restore three hundred head of cattle to the people of Pago, and to pay a fine of £500. As soon as the sentence was pronounced, there was a disturbance in the court-room: an unruly mob took possession of the place, set the landdrosts at defiance, and rescued the men who had been found guilty.

When this lawless proceeding was reported to Commandant-General Kruger, he abandoned all hope of restoring order, and acting by resolution of the council of war he withdrew from Schoemansdal. He considered the position of the village extremely bad from a military point of view. In his opinion, it was always at the mercy of the insurgents, as the stream from which its water was derived came from the mountain held by them, and they were well acquainted with the art of poisoning water to kill game. The respectable people of the village left with the commando, and the unruly characters were obliged to follow. Schoemansdal remained without inhabitants. The former residents saved nothing except what they could carry away. The reverend Mr. Van Warmelo took with him the doors and windows of the church, but otherwise the buildings were undamaged. Shortly afterwards Katlakter's people came down from the mountain, set the houses on fire, and reduced the whole to a heap of ruins.

Commandant-General Kruger retired to Malitsi's country, fifty-eight kilometres distant, where he formed a camp, so as to enable any Europeans who might still be in the neighbourhood of the mountains to withdraw and join him. From this place he retreated by way of Makapan's Poort, where he stationed a guard of forty-five men to protect the little village of Potgieter's Rust, and he then disbanded the commando.

The landdrost of the district, the clergyman, and some of the other inhabitants took up their residence at Marabastad, a hamlet about a hundred and twelve kilometres or seventy miles south-west of Schoemansdal. This place was then the property of only four individuals, and its situation was not a good one. Mr. Van Warmelo decided that it would be useless to attempt to put up a church there, so it was only regarded as a place of temporary refuge.

The abandonment of Schoemansdal and with it a considerable portion of the district of Zoutpansberg was regarded by President Pretorius as the greatest disaster the republic had ever sustained. He made a despairing appeal to the country for volunteers to recover the lost ground, and hurried from village to village to urge the people to render assistance. Stephanus Schoeman—the same man who had taken a prominent part in the civil wars, but who was as brave as he was turbulent—was appointed commandant of volunteers. Notwithstanding the efforts made by the president, only fifty-three men offered their services. At the head of these, in October Schoeman visited Zoutpansberg to ascertain the exact condition of affairs.

At Potgieter's Rust he learned that Makapan had risen. A party of that captain's people had surrounded a patrol of six burghers on an open plain, but had been beaten off with a loss of sixteen killed. Makapan had then gone to Mapela's mountain, and was living there under that chief's protection. From Potgieter's Rust the volunteers pushed on to the burnt village of Schoemansdal. There a meeting took place of the Europeans of the nearest lager, the captains of the blacks who professed to be fighting on the white man's side, and the volunteers. Mapela sent some of his counsellors, who delivered a message to the effect that he wished to remain at peace and was therefore sitting still. Schoeman replied that the Europeans considered him responsible for the damage done by Makapan and another insurgent named Kalikali, inasmuch as he had given these captains and their followers shelter.

At the meeting it was decided not to attack the powerful chiefs Magadu and Katlakter, but to endeavour to do as much damage as possible to Matshatshi, Tshivasa, and other heads of petty clans. The force under Schoeman's command was too weak, however, to do anything of consequence, and after a little skirmishing it fell back to Marabastad, where on the 23rd of December the volunteers were disbanded.

In all the exposed parts of the district the farms were at this time abandoned, and their owners were in lager. There were three great camps: one in the north, another at Marabastad, and a third at Potgieter's Rust.

In January 1868 President Pretorius called out a commando of a thousand men, to assemble on the 20th of February; and announced that if they did not respond to the order the district must be entirely abandoned. About two hundred and sixty mustered on the day appointed. With these Commandant-General Kruger proceeded to Makapan's Poort to ascertain the condition of affairs. Mapela still professed to be loyal, but all the petty chiefs in that neighbourhood were in arms. Mapela had a following of at least five thousand warriors, and occupied a position of great natural strength. Mr. Kruger was determined that he should take an active part on one side or the other, and therefore called upon him as a vassal of the republic to furnish a certain number of slaughter oxen for the use of the commando in the field. As anticipated, the chief then showed his true colours, and instead of sending the oxen he declared war.

Upon this Mr. Kruger sent a report to the president, urging the necessity of proclaiming martial law throughout the republic, requiring every man who could bear arms to take the field, and obtaining by any sacrifice an adequate supply of munitions of war. As he could do nothing with the little force under his orders, he placed a guard of sixty men at Potgieter's Rust, and returned to Pretoria to urge the volksraad, which was then in session, to adopt decisive measures.

The distress and poverty of the Europeans in the lagers had in the mean time so greatly increased that on the 14th of March the reverend N. J. van Warmelo and Mr. R. A. van Nispen—who had succeeded Vercueil as landdrost—published from Marabastad an appeal to charitable persons everywhere to assist in obtaining clothing for the women and children, who were nearly naked.

The volksraad debated earnestly on the pecuniary condition of the country. The last issue of notes had been insufficient to meet expenses, and £1,230 more had been created than had been authorised. Notwithstanding the stringent laws making the notes a legal tender, their purchasing power was then only thirty per cent of that of gold; but there was no other resource, and a fresh issue was resolved upon. Paper money to the nominal value of £45,000 was created on this occasion, a portion of which was to be used to redeem all previous issues except that of 1867. The public debt, as represented by this paper, was thus increased to £65,000. As security for the whole debt, one thousand farms—equal to three million morgen of land—were set apart, with a proviso that one hundred should be sold by public auction every year with a reserve of £100 on each, and the proceeds be employed to redeem the notes until all were destroyed.

By this measure a scanty supply of ammunition was obtained, and at the end of May between eight and nine hundred burghers took the field, assisted by a large band of loyal blacks. On the 13th of June Commandant-General Kruger attacked Mapela's mountain, and made himself master of every portion of it except one very strong position on which the chief's principal kraal was built. In the attack two burghers were killed and eleven were wounded, but it was computed that Mapela's loss was at least three hundred warriors killed, besides about two thousand head of horned cattle, three hundred sheep and goats, and twelve guns seized by Kruger's commando. Two days later another attack was made upon the stronghold, and the kraal was

partly burnt, but was not wholly occupied or destroyed. A number of women and children were made prisoners, and were detained in order to bring the insurgents to terms.

At this juncture intelligence was received from the north that an old feud had broken out between the most powerful of the clans in the Zoutpansberg range, that they were fighting with each other, and that Umzila, chief of the great Matshangana tribe, was preparing to attack them all. The burghers on commando could wish for nothing better. Their supply of ammunition was already beginning to run short, so after an attack upon Matshem, a chief who was assisting Mapela, and some skirmishing with other clans in the neighbourhood of Makapan's Poort, in which hardly any damage was done, they dispersed to their homes.

In July President Pretorius visited Zoutpansberg. Dissensions were prevailing among the clans in the mountains, and though Umzila had not yet attacked them, many of the captains professed a desire to arrange matters so that they could again live in peace. On the 21st of the month there was a meeting at the farm Welgevonden, when Tabana with his people, the Knobnoses who had formerly been subject to the superintendent Albasini, the adherents of Buys, and some others had a conference with the president and the landdrost Van Nispen. The president announced that Mr. Stephanus Schoeman had been appointed diplomatic agent in the district, and that Mr. Albasini was no longer in the service of the government. At this they expressed much gratification, and promised to be obedient to Mr. Schoeman. Messages expressing a desire for peace and offering to pay tribute again were received from several of the mountain chiefs, and friendly replies were returned. Several of the chiefs then visited Mr. Pretorius, when assurances of friendship were exchanged.

The president left Mr. Schoeman to conclude the arrangements. By his efforts a condition of comparative tranquillity was restored, which enabled many of the farmers to return to their former homes and resume their occupation of breeding cattle. But the absolute supremacy of the republican

government over all the clans was by no means re-established, and in several instances farmers thereafter were obliged to pay tribute to the nearest chief to secure their property from plunder. The law could only be enforced by moral means, and there was no power to punish those who disobeyed it, whether black or white, or to compel those to pay tribute who did not choose to do so.

In November Mapela and his neighbour Matshem sent messengers to Pretoria to request the government to make a formal peace with them similar to that made with the chiefs on the other side of the district. This was not then acceded to, but in February 1869 terms were arranged. Mapela was required to surrender all the cattle captured by his people, and Matshem was obliged to leave his mountain and reside on a plain. They were also to furnish a number of labourers to assist in rebuilding some houses destroyed at Potgieter's Rust. Their women and children were then restored to them.

Between the black and white inhabitants of Zoutpansberg there was now a general peace, but the clans in the mountains were engaged in strife among themselves. In March 1869 Pafuri and Lemondo fell upon Tshivasa, and at the same time Magadu attacked Katlakter. In April Umzila sent an army of five thousand warriors into the district, and plundered the kraals of Lemondo and other captains. Still greater troubles awaited the Baramapulana. The chief of the Swazis sent an army of sixteen hundred men against them, before whom twenty thousand of their warriors would not have dared to stand on an open plain. The Swazis were joined by Tabana's people, and at midnight on the 18th of October 1869 one of Magadu's largest kraals was attacked. The position was a strong one, but a little before noon the Swazis carried it, when a dreadful slaughter took place, neither woman nor child being spared. Other kraals belonging to Magadu were then attacked and destroyed, but the one in which he resided was not taken, though the

parties that tried to storm it suffered heavy losses.* The conquerors next marched against Pago and Tshivasa, and created great havoc with the people of those captains. The Swazis then returned to their own country.

In 1868 the government caused Albasini and the former landdrost Vercueil to be prosecuted for the part they had taken in the war. No expense was spared in conveying witnesses and sifting the matter to the bottom, though the finances of the country were in a deplorable state, for the authorities and the respectable inhabitants were determined to show that no abuses that could be prevented would be tolerated. The proceedings brought to light what has been here stated, and the defendants only escaped punishment through some technical defects in the form of the indictment.

Early in 1870 fever made its appearance at Potgieter's Rust. The hamlet had been ten years in existence, and had previously enjoyed the reputation of being a remarkably healthy place. By April eighty-one out of the ninety-three European inhabitants were either dead or ill, and in May the hamlet was abandoned by all the survivors. In the entire district of Zoutpansberg the only village left was Marabastad, where the landdrost was stationed.

Potgieter's Rust was scarcely abandoned when Makapan and Kalikali fell upon some little kraals close by, and rooted them out. In a very short time the same scenes were being enacted there as in the mountains farther north.

The Europeans took no part in these quarrels, but let the clans fight their own battles. Neither side molested them, and they believed it to be their true policy to avoid interference as long as they were not assailed.

While these events were taking place in the north of the republic, there were transactions with tribes in other directions, which remain to be related.

* Magadu remained in a condition of practical independence of the republic until his death in September 1895. The tribe was conquered in 1899 by a force under Commandant-General Pieter Joubert.

When the commando under Mr. Kruger retired from the Lesuto in October 1865, no agreement of peace had been concluded. In the treaty of Thaba Bosigo no mention was made of the South African Republic, an omission which gave a good deal of offence to the government at Pretoria, as the president and the executive council maintained that their state ought to derive some benefit from the land taken from the Basuto. In November 1866 Moshesh, who was then preparing for another rupture with the Free State, caused a letter to be written to President Pretorius, asking that a formal agreement of peace might be made between them. He stated that he greatly regretted the murders that had been committed by his people in June 1865; but they were done in mistake, and he thought that the blood which had since been spilt and the losses inflicted on his people were sufficient to compensate for that crime.

The government at Pretoria, involved in difficulties in other directions and willing to retort upon the Free State for the fancied injury sustained by their exclusion from the treaty of Thaba Bosigo, thereupon sent Messrs. M. J. Viljoen and P. W. Pretorius as an embassy to treat with Moshesh. On the 20th of February 1867 there was a general meeting of chiefs and leading men at Thaba Bosigo, when the embassy stated their willingness to conclude peace, if the Basuto would pay £1,580 in money or eight hundred head of horned cattle to the heirs of the persons murdered by Ramanela. After much discussion, on the 21st this demand was reduced to forty good oxen and fifteen horses, which the assembled chiefs agreed to pay.

On the 25th of February 1867 a formal agreement of peace and friendship was signed by Messrs. Viljoen and Pretorius on the one part, and by Moshesh, Letsie, Masupha, and Moperi on the other. Moshesh promised that the oxen and horses would be delivered in a day or two. The manner in which he kept his engagement was one of the most ludicrous circumstances in connection with his history. The embassy waited until the 1st of March, and then, as

no cattle had been delivered, they left for their homes. On the 2nd they were overtaken by a messenger from Moshesh, who tendered one wretchedly poor old horse, and delivered a letter from the great chief announcing that four more horses and twelve head of horned cattle were on the way. The embassy did not wait to see what description of cattle these were, but proceeded on their journey, and there the matter ended.

There is not very much to relate concerning transactions with the Zulu chiefs Panda and Ketshwayo in reference to the Utrecht boundary. In a preceding chapter this subject was brought down to 1865, when both Panda and Ketshwayo admitted that the line between the Buffalo and Pongolo rivers had been made with their sanction, but when Panda desired that it might be altered so as to restore to Zululand some ground at the northern end, and when Ketshwayo had resolved to recover the whole territory between it and the old Utrecht border, because the compensation received—the surrender of his brother—had been lost by him.

In July 1866 President Pretorius sent a commission—of which Mr. A. A. O'Reilly, landdrost of Wakkerstroom, was chairman—to confer with Panda concerning the alterations in the line which he desired to have made, to induce the chief to remove a few Zulus who were living on the ceded ground, and to inquire about some encroachments on the northern bank of the Pongolo. This last subject, which in later years came into great prominence, was a new difficulty. The boundary between the Zulus and the Swazis was the Pongolo river. The former claimed the latter as vassals, but the claim was ignored by the Swazis, who had never been conquered. In 1855 the Swazis ceded to the South African Republic a narrow strip of land along the northern bank of the Pongolo as far down as the Lebombo mountains, purposely to get a body of white men between them and the Zulus, and now, ten years after the event, Ketshwayo began to question their right to do so. In 1865 some

parties of Zulus, by Ketshwayo's orders, crossed the Pongolo, and made their kraals on its northern bank.

Mr. O'Reilly and his fellow commissioners reached Nodwengo on the 27th of August. They obtained from Panda an explanation of the change which he desired in the boundary line, but were unable to settle either of the other matters, as the old chief, under various pretences, avoided their discussion.

As soon as he could conveniently spare the time, President Pretorius proceeded to have the line altered so as to meet Panda's wishes, and it was now supposed that this matter was finally settled to the satisfaction of all parties. Ketshwayo, however, still regarded the ceded territory as his by right, and his views in the matter were of course held by his people.

In December 1866 forty-three farms had been inspected and allotted to applicants between the old and new boundaries, and on the 8th of June 1869 the volksraad directed the president to cause the remainder of the ground there to be disposed of. But when this came to Panda's knowledge, he sent Gebula to Utrecht with two hundred and forty head of horned cattle to buy it back again. The government of the republic declined to sell it, and sent a commission—with Commandant-General Kruger as chairman—to confer with Panda about it. The commission arrived at Nodwengo on the 11th of February 1870, and found the old chief so ill that he could not rise from his mat. He admitted that the line had been made with his concurrence, but the commission found the Zulu sub-chiefs and people everywhere so opposed to the occupation of the ceded ground by Europeans, that they advised the government to postpone giving it out in farms.

In the mean time the matter had been a subject of correspondence between the lieutenant-governor of Natal and President Pretorius. Ketshwayo had represented to the secretary for native affairs in Natal that the people of Utrecht were encroaching upon Zululand, and he had even offered

to cede to Great Britain the ground which he was trying to recover. The lieutenant-governor, believing that hostilities were imminent, tendered his services as an arbitrator. On the 30th of October 1869 President Pretorius replied that the government of the South African Republic accepted with thanks his Excellency's offer to arbitrate, provided that the losing party should pay all the costs. But various obstacles intervened, and nothing further was done in the matter for several years.

The attitude of Ketshwayo during this time was professedly friendly, but his white neighbours were fully aware that he was not to be trusted. Before the publication in 1878 of his messages to the Natal government, they did not indeed know how skilfully he was playing Natal against the South African Republic; but they knew that he was gifted with great intelligence, and that he was crafty and cruel in a very high degree. They knew also the full extent of his power. They were aware that all the interior tribes in South Africa combined—all the people of Moshesh, of Magadu and his associates, and of Sekukuni, who on the 20th of September 1861 had succeeded his father Sekwati as head of the Bapedi—could not stand in fair fight in open field against half of his trained regiments; yet they feared an encounter with him less than with any one of those. The conditions of warfare would be entirely reversed. The interior tribes—fighting only behind stone walls in almost inaccessible positions, swooping down upon lonely farm houses, and plundering and murdering where no opposition could be offered—could wear out the patience and the strength of a burgher commando; but the Zulu army would be met in a few desperate engagements, when the farmers would take good care to be well intrenched, and the issue would not be doubtful.

Statements that for some years before 1878 the South African Republic was in imminent peril of being invaded by the Zulus, that in such a case the Europeans would certainly have been exterminated, and that Ketshwayo was

only kept in restraint by the influence of the government of Natal, were so often written and repeated in England that they were for many years accepted there as incontrovertible truths; but the farmers of the South African Republic always thought very differently. They, at any rate, never feared the result of a Zulu invasion, nor admitted that the influence of the Natal government with Ketshwayo was greater than their own. To each he professed warm attachment, and in both cases with an entire absence of sincerity. By representatives of each he was formally installed as great chief of the Zulus, but he and his people in reality attached not the slightest value to either ceremony.

In connection with the Zulus an interesting event took place on the 16th of December 1866. A great number of Europeans assembled on the farm of Jan de Jager, on the Blood river, where Dingan's army was defeated by Commandant-General Andries Pretorius twenty-eight years before. Religious services were held, after which a heap of stones was erected in the centre of the site occupied by the lager on the 16th of December 1838, as a memorial of the great victory. A good many Zulus were present on the occasion, and messages of friendship were interchanged with Ketshwayo, who declared himself "of the same house as the Boers."

There were at this time some dealings with clans of the Barolong and Batlapin, but they will be found recorded in another chapter, and need not be referred to here.

For some years there had been a dispute between the governments of the Orange Free State and the South African Republic concerning the boundary between them. Various attempts had been made to settle it, but all without success. At last, in January 1867, the two presidents and commissions from both states met on the disputed ground, when it was ascertained that neither party was prepared to give way, and the two governments then resolved to refer the matter to the decision of Mr. Robert William Keate,

who had been appointed lieutenant-governor of Natal, but who had not yet arrived in South Africa, and who could not therefore be prejudiced in any way. Mr. Keate, who reached Natal on the 23rd of May 1867, consented to act as arbitrator; but some delay took place, and the deed of submission was only signed on the 13th of October 1869.

On the 14th of January 1870 commissions from both republics met the lieutenant-governor at Harrismith. With Mr. Keate were Mr. Theophilus Shepstone, secretary for native affairs in Natal, Dr. Sutherland, surveyor-general of that colony, Mr. Melmoth Osborne, resident magistrate of Newcastle, and Mr. R. H. Erskine, private secretary. The commission of the northern republic consisted of President Pretorius, Commandant-General Kruger, B. C. E. Proes, LL.D., state secretary, Messrs. J. R. Lys and P. J. Joubert, members of the volksraad, and Mr. A. A. O'Reilly, landdrost of Wakkerstroom. The Free State commission consisted of President Brand, Messrs. J. J. Venter, C. J. de Villiers, and T. F. Dreyer, members of the volksraad, and Mr. F. McCabe, landdrost of Bloemfontein.

The Free State commission claimed as the boundary the Likwa spruit, the most northerly source of the Vaal. They maintained that the Sovereignty government had exercised jurisdiction up to that stream, that the Bantu clans in the neighbourhood had always regarded the Likwa as the source of the Vaal, that it was so laid down on the best maps, and that as it was the true Vaal river they were entitled to the land up to it by the convention of the 17th of January 1852.

The commission of the South African Republic claimed the Klip river as the boundary. They maintained that in June 1854 it was decided by Messrs. Bester and Wessels, as commissioners of the Orange Free State, with the approval of the government of the South African Republic, that this stream should be the boundary; and that this was reported to the government of the Orange Free State, and was tacitly approved. They further contended that the Vaal river had

its true sources in the tributary streams of the Wilge, Molen, Cornelis, Klip, and others rising in the Drakensberg. They maintained that the Likwa could not be the source of the Vaal river as contemplated in the convention of 1852, as it does not take its rise in that part of the Drakensberg which is mentioned in the convention.

To the South African Republic the question was of greater importance than to the Orange Free State, as not only was the district of Wakkerstroom—which was enclosed by the Likwa and the Klip—at stake, but if the Likwa was decided to be the boundary, the district of Utrecht would be cut off from the remainder of the country, and there would be no direct access to Natal.

Documentary evidence on both sides was submitted, after which the country between the sources of the two streams was examined by Dr. Sutherland and some members of the commissions.

On the 19th of February 1870 Lieutenant-Governor Keate gave his decision at Maritzburg. He pronounced in favour of the South African Republic, and laid down the line between the two states from a point on the boundary of the colony of Natal immediately over that source of the streamlet called Gans Vlei which takes its rise at the shortest distance from the northern beacon of the colony, thence down this streamlet to its confluence with the Klip river, and thence down the centre of the Klip river to its junction with the Vaal.

In 1869 the term of office of the president expired. The election was contested by only two candidates: the retiring president M. W. Pretorius and Mr. Marthinus Jacobus Viljoen. It was generally assumed that Mr. Pretorius was sure to be returned, so most of the burghers did not take the trouble to record their votes. In all two thousand and ninety-four voting papers were sent in, of which one thousand four hundred and ninety-three were in favour of Mr. Pretorius, and six hundred and one in favour of Mr. Viljoen.

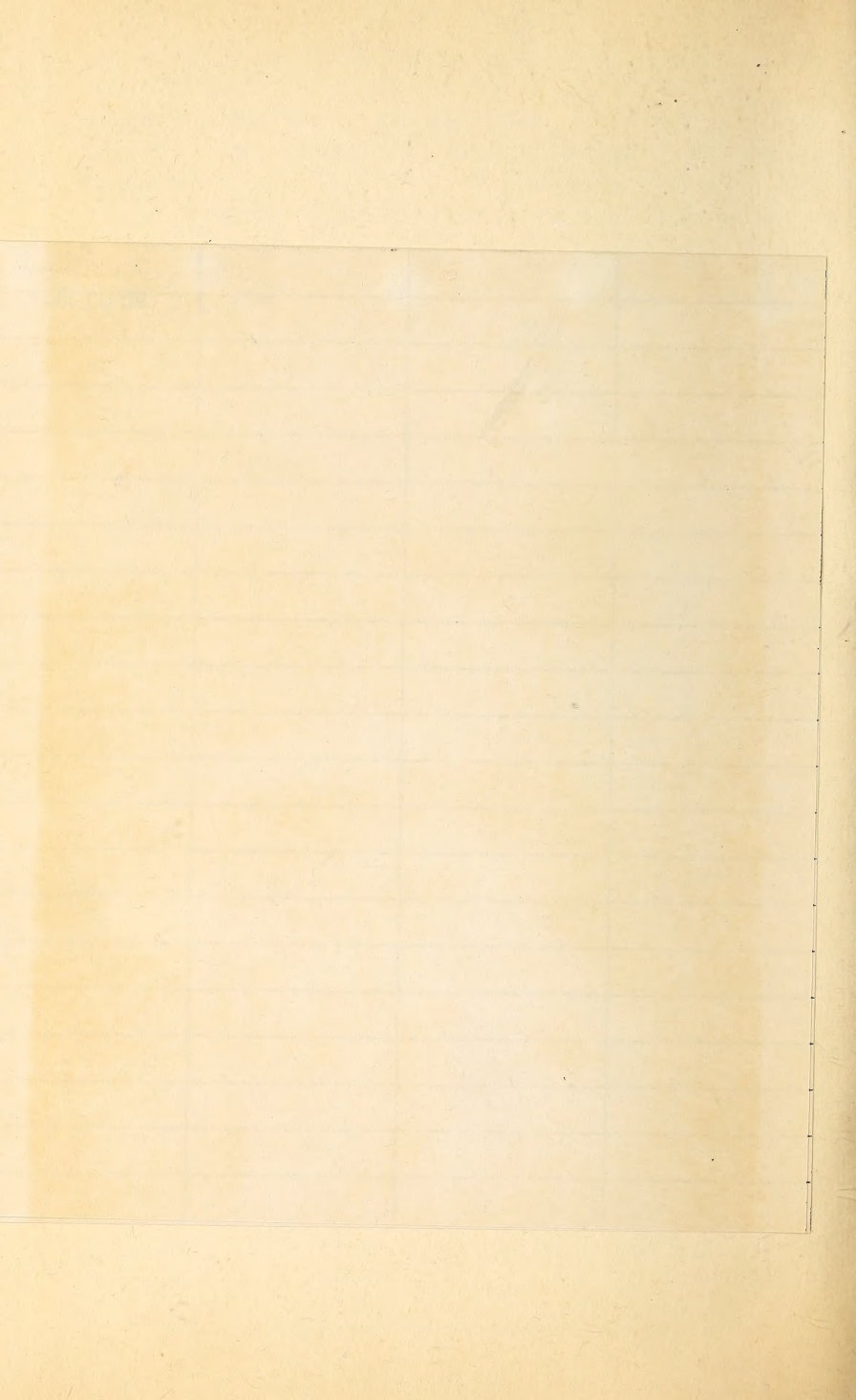
During the period embraced in this chapter three new magistracies were created in the South African Republic. In March 1866 a district named Waterberg was formed out of the northern part of Rustenburg and the western part of Zoutpansberg. It had the Limpopo river as its northern and north-western boundary. The landdrost was stationed at the hamlet of Nylstroom, situated on the head waters of the river of that name. At the same time the district of Heidelberg was formed out of the eastern part of Potchefstroom. The landdrost was stationed at the village of Heidelberg, which had been laid out as a churchplace in the preceding year. On the 19th of June 1869 the volksraad resolved to create a new district, which was named Bloemhof after a village founded in August 1864. On the 12th of November its western boundary was proclaimed to be the Hart river from the Vaal upwards to a prominent curve. In 1868 the village of Zeerust was founded as a churchplace, but did not become the seat of a landdrost until November 1871. The country to the westward as far as the road from Kuruman through the Molopo river to the north—usually called the old English road, from its having been first used by English hunters—was formed into a fieldcornetcy in December 1869.

The power of the landdrosts had recently been increased by the volksraad, and they could now punish with a fine of £25, twenty-five lashes, or imprisonment with hard labour for six months. The courts of landdrost and heemraden had power to inflict a fine of £50, fifty lashes, or imprisonment with hard labour for three years. No white person, however, could be sentenced to receive lashes. Upon the whole, the laws were as good as those of any other country, and the courts of justice had ample power conferred upon them by the volksraad; but for want of a police it was impossible to enforce justice in all cases. The government was weak, owing to discord among the burghers, and the courts of law were consequently very feeble. Yet great crimes were exceedingly rare, for

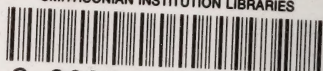
nowhere in the world was the moral law of greater force generally than among the farmers of the South African Republic.

The financial condition of the country was about as bad as it could be. In 1870 the government notes were in general not worth more than twenty-five per cent of their nominal value. Yet salaries were paid in them reckoned at par, so that the civil servants were in the greatest distress. No taxes could be collected in metal coin. The only favourable circumstance was that the income of the state slightly exceeded the outlay. In 1869 the revenue was £31,511, and the expenditure £30,836. In June 1870 the volksraad resolved to call in the whole of the paper in circulation, and to issue new notes uniform in appearance. Some of those that should have been cancelled according to former enactments were found to be still in circulation, the redemption provided for by law had not taken place, and the amount of the new issue needed to cover the whole debt was £73,826. The volksraad passed a resolution to redeem at least £5,000 yearly out of ordinary revenue, or, failing that, by the sale of public lands.

No attempt had yet been made to impose a tax upon the Bantu individually, and the petty tribute demanded of some of the chiefs was not regarded as revenue, but as a token of their subjection. On the 3rd of June 1870 the volksraad resolved that every adult male must contribute to the public revenue. Upon each hut occupied by a black man in the service of a farmer a yearly tax of two shillings and six pence was laid if the hut was on the employer's farm, and five shillings if it was not; if the man was not in service the tax was ten shillings. Every burgher was to be entitled to have five Bantu families, but no more, living on his ground. The heads of kraals were required to collect the tax, and were made subject to penalties if they did not do so. But as the only means of enforcing the law was by calling out commandos, the powerful tribes and clans paid, or did not pay, just as they chose.



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